

The Outlook

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK

<i>The Joint Statehood Bill</i>	235
✓ <i>Pure Food</i>	236
<i>Federal Supervision of Corporations</i>	236
<i>Railway Rate Legislation</i>	237
<i>The Labor Problem at Panama</i>	238
<i>The Coal Miners</i>	239
<i>Chicago's Municipal Fight</i>	241
<i>The Imperial Chinese Commission</i>	242
<i>"The Father-in-Law of Europe"</i>	243
<i>Persia</i>	243
✓ <i>Russian Political Parties</i>	244
✓ <i>The United States at Algeciras</i>	244
<i>Mozart</i>	245
<i>General Wheeler</i>	246
<i>Fisk and Tuskegee</i>	246
<i>Indian Church Schools</i>	247
<i>Punishment for the Slocum Disaster</i>	248
<i>Football Reform in the West</i>	248

EDITORIALS

<i>Preying on the Rich</i>	249
<i>The English Elections</i>	250

<i>Shall We Legalize Homicide?</i>	252
<i>A Great Lay Order</i>	253

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

<i>The Moroccan Question</i>	255
By Professor E. Montet, D.D.	
<i>Radiance (Poem)</i>	257
By S. Van R. Trowbridge	
<i>A Modern Lay Order</i>	258
By E. H. Abbott	
<i>President Johnson's Policy</i>	264
By James Schouler	
<i>Some Experiments in Sunday-School Work</i>	268
By T. D. Perry	
<i>The Ignorance of "Good" Citizens</i>	271
By J. H. McFarland	

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

<i>Some Books on Sociology</i>	273
<i>Comment on Current Books</i>	275

<i>LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK</i>	278
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PIANOS

The Outlook

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1906



The Joint Statehood Bill

The Joint Statehood Bill has passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 195 to 150. Prior to this action the House adopted a rule reported from the Committee on Rules which limited the debate to forty-five minutes on each side, and provided that no amendments to the bill should be permitted. The bill, as passed, provides for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one State, and Arizona and New Mexico as another State. The people of these Territories are first to vote on the question whether they wish admission. That is, the bill is an enabling act, authorizing the people to prepare a State Constitution as a preliminary to admission. But the people of the Territories are to vote jointly, not separately—that is, Indian Territory and Oklahoma vote as one Territory, and Arizona and New Mexico vote as one Territory. If, therefore, a majority of the people of the Indian Territory do not wish to come in as a State with Oklahoma, Indian Territory may nevertheless be compelled to come in, if a majority of the entire population favor joint Statehood; similarly, if a majority of the people of Arizona vote not to come in, Arizona may be compelled to accept joint Statehood if a majority of the two Territories of Arizona and New Mexico desire it. The enabling act for both the joint Territories constitutes one bill, so that in the House no one could vote against the admission of the one joint State without voting against the admission of the other. And as no amendments were allowed, the sense of the House was not taken on the question, Shall the people of each Territory vote separately? nor was any member allowed to vote for the admission of the one State and against the admission of the other. There seems to be little doubt that

a majority of the population of Indian Territory and Oklahoma desire joint Statehood, though there is some objection in the Indian Territory on behalf of the Indians, whose rights it is feared will not be sufficiently protected under State laws, and who cannot be protected from the liquor traffic by the Federal Government after they have become citizens of the State and of the United States. But, as our readers know from the correspondence which has been published, there is very strong objection in Arizona to being united in the same State with New Mexico.



The Measure and the Method

The Outlook believes in joint Statehood. We do not think it practicable to keep Arizona permanently a Territory. From the best light we can get on the subject we do not think it likely that it will ever support a population sufficient to justify giving it two Senators in the Senate of the United States. We think the peril to the Nation from another thinly populated and corporation-ruled State is greater than the peril to Arizona from a union of her destinies with New Mexico. And while there is serious objection to requiring Arizona to come in as a State with New Mexico against the will of her people, there is also serious objection to keeping New Mexico out as a State for no other reason than that Arizona does not choose to come in, though it might be wise to keep both Territories out until they can agree to come in together. Our belief in joint Statehood may perhaps help to emphasize our protest against the method in which this measure was carried through the House. That some limit should be put upon the debate of such a measure is true; without the previous question the House would be powerless to transact

business. That some limit should be put upon amendments is also probably true, otherwise a few unscrupulous obstructionists could practically prevent legislation. But to cut down debate on so important a measure to an hour and a half, and to refuse permission to introduce bona-fide and important amendments, is to destroy the power of the House to consider business under guise of giving it power to do business. So long as the House abdicates its right to give serious consideration to public measures, so long it may expect to be subordinate in public esteem and in real political power to the Senate. A legislative body whose interminable debates generally lead after a time to some kind of action will be regarded by the people as more truly deliberative, and therefore more worthy of respect, than one which never deliberates and acts only to record the judgment of party leaders.



Pure Food In the Senate last week Mr. McCumber, Senator from North Dakota, stated succinctly the justification for a Federal pure food law. The Government, he said, "cannot prescribe a dietary course for every individual," but, he added, "it ought to protect the individual against all character of imposition and fraud, so that entering into the markets he may purchase those things without fear which he knows to be conducive to his health and comfort, and above all that he may avoid those things which he knows to be detrimental." Senator McCumber then cited an illustration from a statement made by a State Secretary: A woman entered a grocery store and bought some articles of food. The price amounted to \$1.80, and as she had only \$1.57, she went away indebted to the grocer twenty-three cents.

Mr. Allen immediately purchased a quantity of each of those articles and analyzed them. He found the syrup was seventy per cent. glucose, the jelly contained nearly everything but fruit juice and was colored with coal-tar dye, the sausage contained an antiseptic, and the lard consisted of beef stearin and cotton-seed oil mixed. Had she gone into the market and bought those articles for what they were at the very highest retail prices, they would not have cost her

over ninety cents, and she would have gone away with sixty-seven cents in her pocket instead of being indebted to the grocer twenty-three cents; and this, Mr. President, independent of the fraud that was perpetrated upon her, independent of the coal-tar dyes which her children were compelled unconsciously to consume.

Against this condition the State laws are a feebly inadequate defense. They cannot prevent fraudulent manufactures from being imported, or from being transported from one State to another. The Heyburn bill now before Congress makes the manufacture of and inter-State traffic in deleterious, adulterated, and misbranded foods, liquors, and drugs punishable by fine and imprisonment. It differs somewhat in detail from the bill of last session. It puts the burden on the manufacturer; it relieves the dealer of responsibility, unless he "knowingly" receives such prohibited goods, in which case a guaranty of purity from the manufacturer will be evidence of good faith; it provides for regulations to be drawn jointly by the three departments of the Treasury, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor, thus relieving the Department of Agriculture (which according to the bill last year would have made the regulations) of sole power; it makes separate provisions for foods, drugs, and liquors; it defines what shall legally be regarded as adulterations, as deleterious substances, and as misbranding. Nearly all States have pure food laws. This indicates how public sentiment regards the subject. Those liquor dealers, druggists, and food manufacturers whose business will be injured by the greater security of the people ought not to be suffered longer to delay and obstruct the passage of this bill.



Federal Supervision of Corporations No subject under consideration by the present Administration yields in importance to that of Federal supervision of corporations. To this end a bill has been reintroduced by Representative Littlefield, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, providing the essential of such supervision, namely, publicity of accounting. Under the operation of Mr. Littlefield's bill, now, we are glad to say, favorably

reported, a great corporation such as the Standard Oil Company, the American Sugar Company, or the United States Steel Corporation would be obliged to make a report every year to the Commissioner of Corporations, giving its name, date of organization, when and where organized, statutes under which it is organized; if consolidated, naming the constituent companies and giving information regarding their organization; if reorganized, naming the original corporations, with full information in regard to them; the amount of authorized and issued capital stock and bonds; the amount paid in and how much; the amount paid in cash or in property, description in detail of the property so represented, with its cash value; whether there has been any capitalization of earnings or earning capacity; finally, the names and addresses of officers, managing agents, and directors, and copies of all rules, regulations, and by-laws. This is all good; still there are some things not provided for in Mr. Littlefield's bill—for instance, annual reports of assets and liabilities. Such a provision would be welcomed, not only by radical legislators, but by many of the large corporations themselves. This is the kind of publicity which has been favored, for example, by the United States Steel Corporation. But the bill as it stands, if passed, would mark a most important step in material and moral betterment, for it is a direct blow at the chief evil of our so-called "trusts," namely, over-capitalization. The evil is generally acknowledged, but it is idle to wait for the several States to pass anything like uniform legislation on the subject. One phase of it is well stated in the following paragraph from the report of the House Committee:

If a capital stock is all paid in, the corporation doing a large and profitable business, and having accumulated a handsome surplus, the greater the publicity that is given to these important facts, the more the market value of the stock will be increased. Such a corporation seeks publicity. On the other hand, suppose the stock is only partly paid in, the corporation doing a losing business, and having accumulated a deficit. The more these facts are known the more the market value of the stock becomes a negligible quantity. In other words, if a man has a

good bond or stock, the more publicity he gets the better he likes it. If he has a poor bond or stock, the less publicity he receives the better he is satisfied. But why are not the public, the insurance companies, and the savings banks, which are relied upon as the final depositories of these securities, entitled to the same information in each case? A sound corporation will make no objection to such publicity; an unsound one always objects. The States, or some of them, legislate so as to enable the corporation to place the questionable bond and stock upon the market under apparently the same conditions that obtain in case of a first-class security.



Railway Rate Legislation

On Saturday of last week Chairman Hepburn, of the Inter-State Commerce Committee, had the notable honor of reporting to the House of Representatives his railway rate bill with the favorable recommendation of the *entire* Republican and Democratic membership of that Committee. Thus upon perhaps the most important piece of economic legislation which has been attempted for years, and upon a question which could be made political and partisan, a unanimous report has been secured. Such unanimous report will doubtless have its due effect not only in the House, but also in the Senate, moving the latter body to earlier action than would otherwise be the case. Some intense Republican partisans are complaining; they would make capital for their party first and their country second out of every measure which passes Congress. Most Republicans, however, are pleased, declaring that the agreement was effected for the sole purpose of bringing the Democrats in the Senate into line for the Administration measure. The Outlook has already outlined the Hepburn bill as presented to the Committee. As presented to the House in amended form it is practically the same measure, made up from the nineteen railway rate regulation bills which were before the Committee, and also from the information contained in five volumes of hearings before the Senate and House Committees. Some of the changes were made on suggestion of minority members, and were granted, as no principle was involved. Others had already been made at the instance of Messrs. Esch and Townsend, the authors

of the bill which passed the House of Representatives last winter; these were certain changes of phraseology, the insertion of a section of the original Act as amended by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and the reduction of the number of Inter-State Commerce Commissioners from nine, as in the Hepburn bill, to seven, as in the Esch-Townsend bill; finally, they also applied the Expediting Act to proceedings in the Circuit Courts, and made it mandatory upon the Attorney-General to file the necessary certificate giving priority in the Supreme Court as well as Circuit Court over all except criminal cases. The Hepburn bill, as reported, is satisfactory, though not as broad as many would have liked. For instance, the revised Esch-Townsend bill gave to the Inter-State Commerce Commission the power to fix not only a maximum rate, but also, for the purpose of differentials, a minimum rate. It is conceivable that there may be almost as much trouble from the minima as from the maxima.



The Special Provisions No attempt is made to authorize the Inter-State Commerce Commission to readjust freight classification. Little complaint, it is said, has been heard against classification. Jurisdiction is confined to cases where complaint has been made, when the Commission is authorized to declare what shall be

a just and reasonable and fairly remunerative rate or rates, charge or charges, to be thereafter observed in such case as the maximum to be charged; and what regulation or practice in respect to such transportation is just, fair, and reasonable thereafter to be followed, and to make an order that the carrier shall cease and desist from such violation to the extent to which the Commission find the same to exist, and shall not thereafter publish, demand, or collect any rate or charge for such transportation in excess of the maximum rate or charge so prescribed, and shall conform to the regulation or practice so prescribed.

This order is to go into effect thirty days after notice to the carrier, and to remain in force unless suspended, modified, or set aside by the Commission or court of competent jurisdiction. It is explained that the word "maximum" was used in

order that flexibility might be given to the rate, and that the carrier might charge a less sum than that fixed by the Commission. The Commission is also empowered to fix the maximum allowance to a shipper who furnishes his own cars or any instrumentality of transportation. Authority is given to the shipper to apply to the Circuit Court for the enforcement of the Commission's orders. The court is to enforce this order by means of injunction. Authority is given the Commission to prescribe the exact manner in which reports shall be made by common carriers, and the manner in which railways are to keep their accounts, with a penalty provision against non-compliance. Access is to be had at all times to the books of the carriers. The bill provides for two additional members of the present Inter-State Commerce Commission—two less, however, as above noted, than in the Hepburn bill as first presented. The term of service for a Commissioner is to be increased to seven years and the salary is increased to \$10,000.



The Labor Problem at Panama

In a recent address the Chairman of the Panama Commission, Mr. Shonts, declared that the "character of labor employed on the Isthmus has more to do with the time it will take to build the canal—more to do with the cost of construction—than any other determining factor." One of the difficulties of dealing with this labor question at Panama has been the legal application to the Canal Zone of the United States eight-hour law. This will be obviated if the Senate shall concur with the action of the House last week. By a vote of 120 to 108 (the unpaired absence of a large number of members was noticeable) the House passed the Urgency Deficiency Bill, carrying over \$15,000,000, without any change whatever as to its financial provisions, but with an amendment to the effect that the eight-hour law shall not apply to alien laborers on the Panama Canal. This enactment is just and reasonable. It is quite consistent to hold that the limit of eight hours for the normal day's work is a proper protection and a benefit

to the American workers to whom it was designed to apply, and yet to believe that it would be undesirable and the reverse of a benefit if it should be enforced at Panama. Apart from the matter of labor cost, it must be noted that American white laborers will not go to the Isthmus in great numbers, and would not in any case be desirable for work in that climate; it is doubtful also whether negro labor from our Southern States can be obtained to any large extent; finally, there is not on the spot any adequate supply of labor. Men must be brought, therefore, from a distance. Thus far Jamaica and Martinique have been the main sources of supply, but experiments are now being tried with laborers from the north of Spain, such as were used to advantage in constructing Cuban railroads. The negroes now at work on the Canal never heard of an eight-hour law, are not brought into competition with American labor, and do not understand or like the plan of short hours and hard work. The last is not altogether due to indolence, for it is a perfectly recognized fact that labor under a tropic sun and in a humid climate must be carried on in an entirely different way from that possible in the temperate zones. It would be neither sensible nor practical to attempt to enforce an eight-hour law on the Isthmus. Equally proper is the decision of the Commission to let out portions of the work to large contractors; whenever there is an economic advantage to be gained there can be no objection to following this course, provided that the contracts be so drawn that the United States shall be able to enforce law and order, sanitary regulation and proper living, and to protect workers from oppression. On the other hand, the human and personal rights of the laborers must be carefully guarded. Coolie peonage or any form of contract labor which makes of the workman a semi-slave, or limits improperly his power of making labor contracts for himself, must not be tolerated or made possible by evasion. The Constitutional rights of labor in this respect have been well defined, and it is not likely that even the urgency of the enormous task before

us at Panama will induce Congress or the Commission to try to let down the bars against involuntary servitude.



*Joint Conference
of Anthracite Operators
and Mine Workers*

The acceptance by the anthracite operators of the hard-coal mine

workers' invitation to meet the representatives of the latter in a joint conference, to determine upon the general labor conditions which are to prevail in the coal industry following the expiration on March 31 of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, is another important step in the direction of establishing the trade agreement machinery for settling upon wages and conditions of employment. The date agreed upon for the conference is February 15, and the place of meeting will probably be New York City. This is the result of efforts of the special committee appointed for this purpose by the convention representing the three anthracite districts held at Shamokin in December. While the text of the correspondence has been withheld from the public, it is believed that the anthracite-carrying railroad presidents and independent operators make clear that in holding such a conference it is with representatives of the hard-coal mine workers as employees and not as members of the United Mine Workers of America, a distinction which the operators have insisted upon from the beginning. But this distinction is more nominal than real, inasmuch as the representatives of the anthracite employees in the conference will be the duly chosen officials and committeemen of the mine workers' union, and they will no doubt be content with this substance of recognition. President Mitchell, the official head of the United Mine Workers of America, who is to be at the conference as a representative of the anthracite employees, is not likely to force to an issue at this time the form of recognition, and in consequence we believe the public can rest assured of an outcome to the negotiations which will maintain industrial peace. Thus, after a lapse of more than thirty years, it seems probable that the anthracite coal industry is again to enter upon

the experiment of regulating the relation of employers and employees by means of the trade agreement machinery, but this time under conditions more favorable to its permanency. Under the able leadership of John Siney, the head and guiding spirit of the Workingman's Benevolent Association (afterwards known under a charter as the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association), the trade agreement machinery was first established in the anthracite industry in 1868, and continued in operation until about 1874. The agreement covering wages and conditions of employment was entered into annually in a joint conference between duly elected representatives of the Association and of the Anthracite Board of Trade of the Schuylkill Coal Region (the organization of the operators), its principal feature being the sliding scale, an arrangement governing wages very similar to the sliding scale award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, and after which the latter is patterned. This early trade agreement machinery in the anthracite coal industry gave to us what is believed to be the first signed joint agreement in the coal-mining industry of the United States. It was entered into between representatives of the two interests at a meeting held at Pottsville in 1870. But this early trade agreement machinery was naturally crude, and was further weakened by Siney's withdrawal from the leadership of the anthracite miners to become the head of the Miners' National Association. Neither the operators nor mine workers were organized sufficiently to assure its permanency; industrial conditions upon the entrance of the railroads as mine-owners were unfavorable to its continuance, and, combined with the bloody depredations of the "Molly Maguires," tended to its overthrow, the last joint conference between employers and employees in the anthracite industry being held in 1874.



*A Favorable
Outlook*

Present industrial conditions are more favorable to the successful operation of the trade agreement machinery once it is re-established in the anthracite in-

dustry. Both the mine workers and the operators are more strongly organized than in the former period; the trade agreement machinery itself has been greatly improved during the past quarter of a century; and social organization as well as industrial conditions, particularly along the line of production, emphasize to-day more than they did in 1870 the absolute necessity of some such method for insuring industrial stability and the peaceable conduct of our great industries. Besides, the public has been educated in industrial affairs to a point where it will demand in the future that methods other than brute force or strikes shall determine and govern the relations between employers and employees. Such a prospect for the anthracite industry is further forecast by prevailing conditions in the central competitive soft-coal territory (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania), where the trade agreement plan has been in successful operation since 1898. The eighth Inter-State Joint Conference representing the mine employees and operators of these States is now in session at Indianapolis for the purpose of entering into an agreement for the scale year beginning on April 1. In this Conference the United Mine Workers is recognized as a contracting party, and the agreement is signed by its officials on behalf of the mine employees of this territory. The policy the miners' officials are to follow was, in fact, formulated by the Convention of the United Mine Workers which met at Indianapolis ten days previous to the assembling of the Conference. This organization now exercises jurisdiction over both anthracite and bituminous coal mine workers, having a total membership exceeding 304,500, of which number over 80,000 are hard-coal mine employees. Ten years ago, in 1896, the total membership of the organization was only 9,617. The present strength of this trade union is further indicated in Secretary Wilson's announcement at the Convention, that the various treasuries—National, district, sub-district, and local—contain more than \$2,680,000. For the support of its members engaged in strikes the past year in the coal fields

of Pennsylvania, Alabama, Tennessee, West Virginia, etc., the union expended more than \$753,724. The referendum vote of the members resulted in the re-election of John Mitchell as President, who thus enters upon his eighth consecutive term as the head of one of the largest and strongest trade unions in the country.

*
*Chicago's
Municipal Ownership
Fight*

Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, is at last having his own way with his municipal ownership programme. The City Council, which has heretofore been in opposition, has suddenly veered to the Mayor's side, and on January 19 it passed two ordinances which the Mayor has been advocating. One was to authorize the issue of \$75,000,000 in Mueller Law certificates for the purpose of purchasing or constructing a municipal street railway system. This ordinance will go to a referendum at the April election, and if approved by popular vote will thereupon be in effect. The other ordinance provides for submitting the question of municipal operation, which under the Mueller Law must be placed before the electors as a separate proposition. In order to carry, the municipal operation proposition must be supported by three-fifths of those voting thereon. The ordinance authorizing the issue of certificates will go into effect if approved by the majority of those acting thereon. This sudden action upon the municipal ownership ordinances came as a surprise to Mayor Dunne as well as to the community, and is the culmination of a bitter fight that has been waging between the Mayor and the Council. Mayor Dunne did not from the outset display great tact or conspicuous executive capacity in giving effect to his plans. He was soon at war with the Council, the majority of which openly took issue with his various municipal ownership plans and proceeded to negotiate franchise-renewal ordinances with the existing companies, intending to submit the ordinances to popular vote before they should become effective. The ordinances as drawn carried a twenty-year franchise renewal, with a reservation to the city of the right to

purchase after ten years. In their detailed provisions these ordinances were objectionable not only to the municipal ownership advocates but as well to many believers in the policy of franchise renewal. The companies evinced a disposition not to accept suggested amendments. Nevertheless, it was decided to have the Council in committee of the whole formulate its views for submission to the companies for final acceptance or rejection.

*
The "Gray Wolves' Peculiar Action"

At this meeting affairs took a very peculiar turn. It is the boast of Chicago that it has an honest City Council, but there are remaining in that body of seventy members about a dozen Aldermen of the old-time gang type, commonly referred to as "gray wolves." It was this "gray wolf" contingent—that was believed to be looking without success for bribes to aid the franchise renewals—that turned the tide in favor of Mayor Dunne and his municipal ownership measures. One of these Aldermen moved the substitution of the Mayor's municipal ownership ordinances for the franchise-renewal ordinances. The motion prevailed by a vote of thirty-six to twenty-eight. The Council thereupon rose from committee of the whole and passed the Mayor's ordinances forthwith. The sudden reversal in attitude of the "gray wolf" Aldermen had changed the Mayor's minority in the Council to a majority. While the radical municipal ownership advocates were greatly elated over the victory, there is in Chicago considerable disquietude over the sudden haste in dealing with this important subject and the procedure by which the victory was attained. There are those who think that the "gray wolves" acted in the interest of the traction companies, by proposing the least practicable plan for municipal ownership and the one least likely to be carried through with success. The proposed ordinances will be subjected to considerable litigation before results can be obtained under them. The entire certificate feature of the Mueller Law—which authorizes the issuing of certificates that shall be a lien only on the property, and

not be a debt of the city, subject to the constitutional limitation on municipal indebtedness—is admittedly experimental and of uncertain constitutionality. In addition, some critics of this ordinance claim that it is not drawn in conformity with the Mueller Law and is therefore illegal on its face even if the Mueller Law itself be constitutional. Many also contend that this particular ordinance was not the best of several plans proposed by Mayor Dunne for bringing about municipal ownership. While there is a disposition in many quarters to blame Mayor Dunne and his adherents for confusing an already tangled situation, there is another side to the matter. The private traction interests in Chicago, by their stubborn refusal to deal fairly with the city, have done more than any other agency possibly could do to fan the flames of radicalism. The conservative elements generally, both in the City Council and in the community, instead of recognizing that municipal ownership must inevitably come sooner or later and taking the leadership of that movement and trying to direct it aright, have tried to thwart the well-known will of the majority of the people as expressed on several occasions.



*The Imperial
Chinese Commission*

Unheralded to the public, though directly accredited by the Emperor of China to the President of the United States, the Imperial Chinese Commission have surprised the country by their quiet arrival. The dignity of the Commissioners and the great importance of their mission were recognized in advance by our Government, which not only sent orders to its officers at San Francisco and Chicago to offer the Commission every attention and facility, but sent Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, as its special representative to meet them and conduct them to Washington. The Mayor of Chicago announced their coming to the city by arrangements for their civic reception and itinerary befitting the high rank and purpose of the Commissioners. The two Viceroys were attended by twenty high-class officials and educators, some

of whom won their degrees in the universities of this country and Europe. At the head of the Commission is Tuan-Fang, the Chinese hero of the Boxer rebellion, whose independent and courageous disobedience of the Imperial edict to kill all foreigners of his province of Shensi, strangely enough, led to his subsequent promotion to be the Governor of two provinces with thirty millions of inhabitants. He is one of the few progressive leaders who are initiating and furthering the amazing movement for constitutional government in China. To prepare the way for it two commissions have been sent to study the constitutions and institutions of the representative governments in America and Europe. The one now here goes to Germany, Belgium, Russia, and Italy. Another, under Prince Tsai-Chen, follows to England, France, Holland, and Switzerland. The impressions received and given again by the Commissioners at Chicago indicate the momentous importance of this new movement of China, and the spirit of the men who are carrying it on and out. The commercial value of their visit to such great industries as our packing-houses, harvester works, and steel plants is obvious. But the significance of their incisive insight into our charitable, reformatory, educational, and social agencies appeals to the higher hope for human progress in China. When, after their three crowded days of observation, they were asked what most impressed them in Chicago, the reply of the Viceroy, Tuan-Fang, was most hopefully significant: "Public care of the insane, the house where the lady was [meaning Miss Adams, at Hull House], and the Young Men's Christian Association building." Their wise and courteous silence regarding our unjust personal discrimination against their whole race, which men of such caliber and culture must deeply resent, only emphasizes the National necessity of the belated turn which American sentiment is taking toward a more just and generous attitude in our relations to the Chinese. Our reversion to the higher type of American ideals is coming not a day too soon, if the people of the United States are to exert the influence upon the commercial, educa-

tional, social, political, not to say religious, progress of China which its people and the world have the right to expect of us.

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*"The Father-in-Law
 of Europe"*

On Monday afternoon of this week Christian IX., King of Denmark, died. He passed away suddenly, but quietly, surrounded by his children and grandchildren. There had been so little indication of his approaching end that on Monday morning he gave long audiences, lasting three hours. Christian IX. was born in 1818. He was a prince of the house of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg. At an early age he married Princess Louise, the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. For many years there seemed little prospect that the young prince would ever become King of Denmark; but finally, in 1852, as the reigning King, Frederic VII., was childless, the Danish succession became an object of some anxiety to the European powers. A meeting of plenipotentiaries was held in London to discuss the matter, and concluded that, as Princess Louise was the nearest heir, her husband should be the next King. A Danish law thereupon declared him heir to the throne. The most important event of the King's reign was when Holstein and a part of Schleswig were claimed by Germany. A German force occupied those territories. The King hoped for help from Great Britain, but, receiving none, was obliged to come to terms with the conqueror. Those were disastrous days for Denmark, but the King did not allow himself to be overborne by circumstance. He granted a new Constitution in 1866, put his army and navy upon a new foundation, promoted the construction of railways, and did all in his power to stimulate agriculture and commerce. This was no easy task, since the Danes long carried their resentment at the outcome of the war to the absurd length of holding their monarch in some degree responsible. That the King was able to become popular, despite all this, showed his admirable temper of mind and resoluteness of purpose. Moreover, his exemplary domestic life endeared

him increasingly to his people. Many of those who have visited Copenhagen have seen the King, generally accompanied by one of his sons, but otherwise quite unattended, walking in the Tivoli Gardens or in some other popular promenade, the recipient of spontaneous and affectionate attention from all his subjects. The King and Queen enjoyed such a long and unclouded term of domestic felicity as is rare in the history of crowned heads. In 1892 they celebrated their golden wedding; six years later the Queen died. As is fitting, their children have come to constitute perhaps the most remarkable of all royal families. The Crown of Denmark now worthily descends upon their eldest son; their second son well fills his difficult position as King of Greece; their eldest daughter, Alexandra, is the deservedly popular Queen of England; their second daughter has exercised great influence as Empress and now ex-Empress of Russia; their third daughter is the wife of the Duke of Cumberland, the heir to the throne of Hanover, set aside by the German Emperor. The eldest son of the new King of Denmark is, of course, Crown Prince, and his brother has just become King of Norway. All these and the other children and grandchildren of Christian IX. have become closely connected by marriage with many royal and semi-royal families of Europe. But in the ultimate analysis the King's claim upon Europe rested not so much upon these family connections as upon his own character. His was perhaps the most honored figure in the group of European monarchs.

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Persia Last week attention was directed to a country about which little has been heard of late. It was with surprise that one read last week of a revolution at Teheran, the capital of Persia, involving the surrender of the Shah, the Persian ruler, to the demand for a national assembly. The surprise was the greater when it was learned that the revolutionists numbered only a thousand, and were mainly composed of Mullás, the peculiarly popular and democratic Mohammedan priests—for any person

capable of reading the Koran and interpreting its laws may act as a priest of this order. As soon, however, as such a priest becomes known for his peculiarly just interpretation of the divine law and for his knowledge of traditions and articles of faith, he is called a Mujtahid, or Chief Priest. Now, while there are many Mujtahids in Persia, sometimes several in one town, there are only four or five whose decisions are accepted as final. It is supposed, therefore, that among the revolutionists there must have been one or more out of the four or five priests of supreme influence. Perhaps no priesthood is more powerful than the Ulemâ, or Persian. It is fiercely national. It has steadily worked against progress coming from Europe. It is far more powerful over the people than is the authority of the Shah, as is instanced in the event of last week, and as is shown by the action of the Persian army, which has now refused to act against the revolutionists. A principal reason for this religious influence as distinguished from the Shah's is the fact that the Persian monarch and his Government have no voice in the matter of appointing the Mujtahids. Perhaps the Mujtahids and the Mullâs have been acting against some infringement of their own privileges; at all events, their hatred of everything foreign has lately been accentuated by the joint demonstration of the Powers against Turkey, the troubles in connection with Morocco, and the Russian operations against the Mohammedan tribes in the Caucasus.

Russian Political Parties

By far the most important event during the past week in Russia was the decision reached by the convention of the Constitutional Russian Democratic party declaring Russia to be a constitutional parliamentary monarchy. The fact that there are many avowed republicans in this party made this decision momentous, not only for the preservation of some kind of monarchy in Russia, but, in view of the loyalty of soldiers and peasants, for the preservation of the present dynasty. A majority in the convention concurred in acknowledging that to persist in demanding a republic would lead

to military rule, a dictatorship, and a long postponement of coveted reforms. The part of wisdom, therefore, was to discard political theories wherever they came in conflict with practical wisdom; in other words, the Constitutional Democrats voted to make the most of what they could get. This decision puts their party on practically the same plane as that occupied by the Constitutional Monarchists and by other wings of the great Liberal party, and the Witte Ministry is strengthened as it has not been since its accession to power. Broad-minded as the Prime Minister's ideas may be, however, they are in apparent conflict with those actually carried out by his Minister of the Interior, Durnovo, who has now exhausted the present accommodations in all the great centers of population, and has made demands upon the Government barracks, railway and customs sheds, to shelter his political police. Furthermore, it is charged that a very large majority of the arrests are made solely on the grounds of political propagandizing and not because of any part taken in the bomb campaign, the detentions coming under a section of the old code which makes it a criminal offense to participate in any movement for a change in the form of government. It is further charged by the sympathizers with those under arrest that many have been in jail for months without indictment and trial. These things have led to the suspicion among the laboring classes that the Durnovo mode of securing an acceptable Duma, or Parliament, is to put the men whom Radicals and Socialists would select in jail until after the election. Persistence in carrying out the methods of such an apparently reactionary Minister as Durnovo, under a Liberal Premier like Count Witte, would make the Duma a term of derision among the laboring classes and destroy the last vestige of confidence in the Czar's sincerity.

The United States at Algeiras

Last week at Algeiras, Spain, the International Conference "marked time" in providing a solution of the first question before it—

that of contraband. As was anticipated, France, with hundreds of thousands of French citizens across the border in Algeria, and Spain, which lies across the Strait of Gibraltar and has a little concession-settlement in Morocco proper, have received special rights and privileges in the maintenance of tranquillity on their respective borders. The consideration of economic and financial reforms in Morocco has now begun, and leads directly to the disputed points between France and Germany; and it is pleasant to read that our ambassadors at Algeciras are making the weight of America felt in quiet endeavors to bring France and Germany closer together. The reasons for the presence of our representatives at Algeciras were very clearly stated last week in Congress by Senator Spooner. He showed that there is no lack of precedent for the appointment of American delegates to a Moroccan conference. When we were colonies of Great Britain, she protected our commerce in the Mediterranean; when we were thrown on our own resources, the Barbary pirates destroyed and annihilated our trade, and we appealed to France for protection; France declined to grant this, but offered to use her good offices; in 1787 we made a treaty with Morocco protecting our commercial interests, and another in 1836, and still another, the existing treaty, in 1880. The assertion that we must not enter into a conference called for commercial purposes, but into which political questions may enter, the Senator from Wisconsin declared, is an intimation that we are afraid to enter into a conference as the peer of the other nations. Are we to confess that we dare not send delegates to international conferences to protect American interests for fear that they will not know when to withdraw? With Senator Spooner, most Americans, we think, believe that the President of the United States, who hit upon the psychological moment to intervene and bring to an end the deplorable war between Russia and Japan, can be trusted to determine the psychological moment when our ambassadors must withdraw from the Moroccan Conference in order to save

this country from all danger of unfortunate European entanglement, should such a moment come to pass. Finally, Mr. Spooner announced what is generally not known, that two of the Great Powers had declined to be represented at Algeciras unless all the signatories to the existing Moroccan treaty took part, the inference being that if America had not accepted the invitation to participate in the Conference there might have been no conference at all, only an increase of difficulty in an unfortunate but remediable international situation.



Mozart In the history of so young an art as music a hundred and fifty years mark a long period. It was but a little over a hundred and fifty years ago that Bach died, and just a hundred and fifty years ago last Saturday that Mozart was born. Since that time the art of music has developed as no other fine art has ever done in such an interval. The most daring innovations of those days seem almost as archaic as Egyptian sculpture; and the musical commonplaces of to-day would seem to the men of that day meaningless cacophony. In spite of Beethoven and Schumann and Brahms and Tschäikowsky, symphonies and quartettes of Mozart are alive and vigorous; in spite of Weber and Verdi and Wagner, operas by Mozart are not only far from obsolete—they are immensely popular. Mozart's music, fresh, happy, vigorous, and beautifully organized, does not, it is true, rouse the emotions of present-day audiences as it once did; yet it is noteworthy that so emotional, tragical, despairing a nature as Tschäikowsky found in Mozart's music that which enthralled him as the music of no other composer did. The sesqui-centennial of Mozart's birth was celebrated in all parts of the world. In Germany it was marked by Mozart programmes and performances of Mozart operas; but Mozart's genius is universal and holds its sway over many lands. In the United States concert and opera programmes last week almost everywhere bore Mozart's name. In Boston Mr. Gericke contrasted Mozart with the modern Russian Glazounoff; in New

York many concerts were devoted to his memory, not least that of the Russian Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Mr. Modest Altschuler, which departed from its custom by admitting a non-Russian composition to its programme, contrasting Mozart with Tschaikowsky; and in Chicago, where the Thomas Orchestra, of which Mr. Stock is conductor, performed a concert half of which consisted of Mozart compositions, and the other half contained Tschaikowsky's "Mozartiana" suite. We cannot always live in the shadows, even if they allure by their mystery and their suggestion of romance and deep experience; we need also the light, and in Mozart we have it with full radiance.



General Wheeler Few Americans were held in greater personal regard than General Joseph Wheeler, who died in Brooklyn on Thursday of last week in his seventieth year. He had fought in two wars, and in both he had distinguished himself by gallantry. At the close of the Civil War, although he was only twenty-nine years of age, he was a Lieutenant-General and the senior cavalry officer in the Confederate service. After the full interval of a generation he led the United States cavalry as Major-General of Volunteers in the campaign in Cuba. In serving under the flag against which he had once fought he was only carrying out the spirit of the greatest of the Confederate leaders, and interpreting at the end of a generation the attitude which General Lee had taken in recognizing the logic of events and loyally co-operating with new conditions. In two or three places in the South General Wheeler was condemned for accepting service in the United States army, but he lived to put his critics in the wrong. Nothing has done more to bind the North and the South together than a common service under one flag against a common enemy in the war with Spain. General Wheeler had long been regarded in the North as a type of the gallant Southerner; his dash and brilliant activity in the Cuban war made him a popular hero, and as much probably as any Southern man of his time he has brought

into cordial relations with the Government that influential class in the South who once served in arms against it. The Confederacy had no braver soldier or more faithful servant, nor has the South had a truer friend and a wiser counselor than General Wheeler proved to be in the later years of his life. He was not a great commander like Lee, but he was a brilliant and resourceful cavalry leader, of fiery energy and inspiring gallantry. He was one of the men who made the country aware that the days of sectionalism were ended. A soldier by education and profession, he became later a lawyer and a cotton-planter; he had considerable experience in politics, and was twice elected to the House of Representatives. He was also an industrious writer, the author of a number of historical books, of a series of monographs, and of many articles in magazines. He was heard on many public occasions, especially at dinners, and was always received with a welcome which evinced the warmest admiration for his personality as well as for his distinguished record. He had become a National figure, and will be greatly missed; he was the last survivor of the conspicuous leaders in the Civil War, and his going marks the end of an era.



Fisk and Tuskegee At the meeting of the Armstrong Association in New York last week Dr. Booker T. Washington stated in a single sentence the problem for which the solution is sought through negro education: "Since we are to forever constitute a part of the citizenship of this country," said he, "there is but one question to be answered: Shall we be among the best citizens, or among the worst?" There are, as a matter of fact, very few people, North or South, who would deliberately prefer to keep the negroes among the degraded classes; but there are a great many who think that education has done little to elevate them. For that reason it is not without significance that, in spite of indifference, such institutions as Hampton, Fisk, and Tuskegee are continually growing, not only in material prosperity, but in educational efficiency.

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of Fisk University. It was celebrated at Nashville by exercises lasting for three days. Fisk has contributed very largely to the supply of colored teachers, as well as to the number of negroes in medicine, law, and the ministry, and has therefore performed a very great service. It has undertaken, as *The Outlook* has reported, an enlargement of its function by adding a department of applied science, thus recognizing more than ever before the value of practical knowledge in education. At the celebration it was announced that money had been pledged for the new building required, and that the alumni were co-operating in the attempt to raise an endowment. In New York last week the Armstrong Association recognized the twenty-fifth anniversary of Tuskegee Institute. At the meeting Mr. Joseph H. Choate, Mr. Samuel L. Clemens, whom everybody knows as Mark Twain, and Mr. Robert C. Ogden, besides Dr. Washington himself, addressed a crowded audience. The celebration at Tuskegee itself will take place in April and will consist of an exhibition of its history, of the work of its students and graduates, of its extension work, of negro music, and of the progress of the negro in general, and will include addresses by prominent men of both races. Tuskegee needs \$1,800,000 for its endowment, and it is hoped that this amount may be raised this year. The white people of the South have sturdily withstood all attempts to break down the public education of the negroes and have borne their burden strongly. There is, therefore, a special obligation upon the people of the North to give to such institutions as Hampton, Fisk, and Tuskegee a hearty financial support. The task is the Nation's task, and the Nation ought, and we believe will, perform it.



*Indian
Church Schools:
the Way Out*

As our readers will remember, all Congressional appropriations for Indian schools under ecclesiastical control were discontinued by Congressional act, by a series of diminishing appropriations, and in accordance with a policy settled and

announced some years ago. Notwithstanding this, the practice grew up in the Department of allowing, under restrictions, the appropriation of certain trust funds under the control of the Department to church schools upon the request of the Indians. After consideration, the President ordered this practice continued until it was negated either by the courts or by act of Congress. His recognition of the fact that it might be negated by the courts was tantamount to an acknowledgment that the legality of such an appropriation was doubted, and in point of fact this was the case. In his last report the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed very careful regulations to prevent the perpetration of frauds upon the Indians in the endeavor of church representatives to secure the consent of Indians to the use of their moneys in church schools, these regulations being provided in compliance with the President's direction that "care must be taken, of course, to see that any petition by the Indians is genuine, and that the money appropriated for any given school represents only the *pro rata* proportion to which the Indians making a petition are entitled." It is our opinion that any one reading these regulations would find an additional and weighty argument against the policy which the President is pursuing in this matter in the very fact that it is necessary to make such an elaborate provision to prevent fraud. We do not need here to repeat the more fundamental reasons which we have given to our readers from time to time against that policy; it is enough to say that the true way out is indicated by two bills now before Congress. The first is the Stephens bill, which explicitly provides that no trust funds shall be used for purposes of education in any sectarian or denominational schools. This bill is simply an extension of the principle that Congress has already adopted, and may almost be said to have been suggested by the President's phrase that the practice of giving such appropriations "will be continued unless the Congress should decree to the contrary." The other measure is the Lacey bill, which authorizes the President in his discretion from time to time to designate

such Indian tribes as he may deem to be sufficiently advanced in civilization to be prepared to manage their own money, and shall thereupon cause the money held in trust for such tribes to be allotted in severalty to the members thereof. These two bills, supplementing each other, would take this troublesome question out of politics. There is very good reason why the United States Government should not, directly or indirectly, make, for the benefit of church schools, any appropriations out of any funds, however they may be held; but there is no reason why Indians who are sufficiently intelligent to determine how their money should be spent should not have their money given to them and be left to spend it in their own discretion. Strenuously as *The Outlook* is opposed to any connection between the Government and the church schools, it is inclined to advise Indians, where they can do so, to send children to schools of their own religious faith, and to pay for the tuition out of their own funds.



*Punishment for the
Slocum Disaster*

At last some one has been punished for the disaster to the excursion steamer *General Slocum* which brought death to a thousand people more than a year and a half ago. The captain of that craft has been adjudged guilty of criminal neglect in not providing effective fire drills for his crew, and has been sentenced to ten years in State's prison. He is sixty-eight years of age; his punishment is practically life imprisonment; he will appeal; but he is convicted and sentenced. At the time of the wreck he displayed courage and fidelity; but then it was too late. His punishment ought not to be considered as the less deserved because others have taken the risks he took and have escaped the consequences. Rather his punishment ought to be regarded as an example of what in justice ought to be the fate of every man who, like him, has recklessly put in peril the lives of helpless human beings on the water. If the captain deserves such chastising, what ought to be required of those officers of the company which owned the steamer

for permitting such an inflammable vessel to be ill protected and for supplying it, not only with an inadequate number of life-preservers, but with so-called life-preservers which were actually weights dragging their victims more surely to death? Some of these officers have been indicted. The warning has now been given to the captains of excursion steamers; let it be no less clearly sounded in the ears of their owners and managers.



*Football Reform
in the West*

In characteristic fashion the West has undertaken the reform of football by proposing constructive measures in a radical spirit. Representatives of nine Western universities—the “Big Nine” they are called in athletic circles—met last week in conference. This is the roll of honor: Chicago, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Northwestern, Purdue, Wisconsin. The radical spirit of this conference was shown in passing among its resolutions the following article: “That the game of football, as played at present, is hereby abolished as an intercollegiate and collegiate contest in the conference colleges.” By itself that resolution would have put those universities in the same category with Columbia and Harvard. That resolution, however, was very far from being by itself. It was incidental to one of eleven resolutions making positive and practical recommendations which will go into effect as soon as they are ratified by the respective universities. The conference describes at length the evils of present-day American football. These it divides into two classes: those inherent in the present rules, and those attendant upon “the general raising of the game into a thing of absorbing and sometimes hysterical public and collegiate interest.” These latter in particular it describes as extravagance, multiplicity of games, unreal ideals (engendering intercollegiate bitterness, suspicion, and trickery), professional coaching independent of faculty control (which accounts for the pressure put upon teams to win at all hazards), and false loyalty of alumni exhibited in money contributions and

in recruiting of students for the sake of athletic prestige. The conference therefore recommends that intercollegiate contests be greatly reduced in number, limited to the three upper classes of undergraduates, and confined to 'varsity teams, that the football season be shortened, that admission fees be reduced, that training tables and preliminary training be discontinued, and eligibility be more clearly defined. As to the rules of the game, the conference awaits the conclusions of the Rules Committee recently organized; but in default of sufficient modifications from that source, it recommends that the conference itself appoint a committee to draw up rules of its own. Most important of all, the conference declares that the faculty shall control the conduct of football, both in the matter of coaching (thus establishing the ethical standards of play) and in the matter of financial management (thus establishing the ethical standards of athletic support). The resolutions on this particular subject are as follows:

That hereafter there shall be no coaching except by regularly employed members of the instructional staff, approved by the trustees of the university on recommendation of the faculty; and that the salary attached to the position shall be no greater than that paid to other members of the faculty of similar rank.

That the conference colleges take steps to reduce the receipts and expenditures. That the athletic surplus be devoted, as far as possible, to permanent university improvement. That the financial management of athletics be entirely in the control of the faculty, who shall publish all reports of receipts and expenditures.

It is also stated on the authority of Professor Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, that it was understood that hereafter the schedule of games should be so arranged as to do away with a contest for championship. These admirable recommendations will, it is expected, be approved. In that case the abolition of football, or its suspension for two years, as suggested by the conference, would not be operative. The colleges and universities of the East, hampered by a spirit of conservative individualism, ought not only to take courage, but also to derive instruction, from this Western conference.

Preying on the Rich

The acquittal of Mr. Norman Hapgood, the editor of "Collier's Weekly," in the proceedings for criminal libel brought against him on the complaint of Justice Deuel, is a practical conviction of Justice Deuel and "Town Topics" upon the charge that Justice Deuel was "part owner and editor of a publication which disseminated scandals about people who were not cowardly enough to pay for silence." For Mr. Hapgood, the editor, and Mr. Collier, the publisher, assumed full responsibility for this charge, and Mr. Hapgood was acquitted by the jury, after only seven minutes' deliberation, on the ground that the charge was fully proved by the evidence. With this verdict the public agree. The only acceptable course for Justice Deuel is to retire from the bench, and for Colonel Mann is to retire "Town Topics" from publication. That either will do so is not at this writing indicated.

The follies of the silly rich and the cowardice of the criminal rich have long been a theme for satirists; but neither have ever been more effectively exposed than in this trial. And the probabilities are that the exposures are not yet ended, for Colonel Mann, the publisher of "Town Topics," has been arrested on a charge of perjury, and there are intimations that other prosecutions growing out of this publication are to follow. The evidence already before the public has proved that "Town Topics" has depended for its profits, if not for its existence, upon trading on the fears of a few society people in whose lives there have been incidents which they do not desire the public to know, on the apprehensions of some timid people who dreaded lest their names should appear in this disreputable sheet, and on the ignorance of some silly people who imagined that it was a society paper in whose columns it was a social advantage to appear. The criminal and the timid rich paid for silence; the ignorant and silly rich for self-advertisement. Hereafter the words of "Town Topics" will be neither an object of dread to the first nor of desire to the second.

So long as a certain group of people

in so-called society have no other object in life than amusing themselves by inanities, vulgarities, and occasional immoralities, the basis for the prosperity of such journals as "Town Topics" will exist. But the criminal rich, the timid rich, and the silly rich constitute a very small proportion of the entire rich. These people do not in any sense constitute real society; for society in any true sense of the term is the companionship of men and women of wide interests and intelligence. The kind of society with which "Town Topics" has dealt has been mainly the companionship of men and women without education, culture, taste, or character. This group does not represent New York society as a whole; it is only a section of that society. Nor as a section is it confined to New York; it is found in every city of any size in the world; and, if the reports of well-informed people are to be believed, it presents more obnoxious features in some smaller cities than in the metropolis. Such a journal as "Town Topics" lives and thrives because supposedly decent men and women are willing to buy and read it. Hereafter the people who buy and read it will not be supposedly decent.

The commendation and gratitude of the public are due to both the editor and the publisher of "Collier's Weekly" for the courageous service which they have rendered to the public.



The English Elections

The membership of the new British Parliament is now substantially made up, and the result is one of the most sweeping victories which any political party has ever secured in Great Britain. The Liberals will have as great a number of men on the benches of the new House as any party has ever succeeded in seating in Westminster Hall. For three years the Liberal leaders have been declaring that the country was steadily coming their way; for the past year men like Mr. Morley and Mr. Bryce, who do not speak except upon mature consideration, have declared that the coming election would return the Liberals to power; but the most optimistic Liberal has not dreamed

of so overwhelming a victory, nor has the most pessimistic Conservative imagined so disastrous a defeat. All the members of the Liberal Ministry were seated without the least difficulty, while seven members of the recent Unionist Ministry were defeated, including Mr. Balfour, who will get into the new House of Commons by the courtesy of a Conservative who has resigned a seat in London in order to provide for it. Alone among the leaders of the defeated party Mr. Chamberlain will carry into the new House something of his old prestige. The seven members elected from Birmingham, whom he will head, represent the little group around the leader who were not overborne and swept out of existence by the tremendous tide of Liberalism.

It is too early to interpret the full significance of this sweeping Liberal victory, but there are indications that it is not only a great party success, but that some of its results are likely to be revolutionary. England stands pledged, for the time being at least, to freedom of trade. The great principle for which she has stood as a leader she has refused by an overwhelming majority to abandon. Every attempt to put into the background the issue which Mr. Chamberlain raised and for which he fought with characteristic courage and audacity, the issue which Mr. Balfour evaded—now to reap the usual fruits of evasion—has disastrously failed. The British voters refused to be misled by the various attempts to divert their attention from the fundamental issue by pushing other issues, like Home Rule, to the fore. As was pointed out in these columns several weeks ago, Canada has refused to accept Mr. Chamberlain's protection policy, and now the people of Great Britain, after a long series of local expressions of opinion through by-elections, have answered with a tremendous "no" his proposal to change British commercial policy.

Other elements, of course, contributed to this sweeping decision. The cry of Chinese slavery in the Transvaal has aroused for months past the bitterest antagonism among the Liberals and elicited indignant opposition from many Conservatives as well. What the Con-

servatives in the days of Gladstone used to call derisively the Nonconformist conscience, one of the most valuable political as well as moral assets of Great Britain, has been aroused by the Conservative policy towards coolie labor in South Africa, and that policy has been repudiated as marking a departure from fundamental British principles. The educational legislation of the Unionists has called out widespread protest against what Nonconformists of all kinds regard as gross injustice. It must be remembered, moreover, that for two or three years past the lassitude and uncertainty of Mr. Balfour's leadership have been increasingly disappointing to the country. The English love above everything else a clear and definite position; they resent any kind of sophistication; they dislike fine distinctions in politics; they insist upon sharp definition of issues. These were precisely the qualities which Mr. Balfour lacked. No man of greater personal charm, except Lord Rosebery, or of more thoroughly trained mind, has ever been at the head of the English Government than Mr. Balfour, but his failure to meet the issue which Mr. Chamberlain raised fairly and squarely broke his political influence. His skill in dialectics and the great personal regard felt for him made him an adroit and generally successful leader on the floor of the House of Commons; but his lack of decision has fatally handicapped him as a leader in the country at large. British voters have grown weary of the lack of decisive and clear leadership in the Conservative party. To his courage and the definiteness with which he has stated his position Mr. Chamberlain probably owes his re-election by an increased majority from Birmingham.

The revolutionary aspect of the election is brought out by the sweeping change in the personnel of the membership. More than half the men who will sit on the benches of the new House of Commons will be strangers to its customs and habits. The "Daily Mail," commenting editorially on this fact, describes the election as "the revolution of 1906," and declares that what has been called the first club in Europe has gone,

and expresses the hope that the first business house in Europe may take its place. The workingmen, represented in the last House by six members, will be represented in the new House by a solid body of more than fifty. Not since Simon de Montfort summoned the nobles, clergy, and commoners to sit together in the English Parliament, in the reign of King John in 1265, has a more significant change been wrought in the constitution of that historical body. The advent of the workingman marks the latest stage in one of the most notable evolutions in the political history of the world, and practically completes the representation of the English people of all classes in its great representative body. Ten years ago fifty thousand labor votes, representing all shades of opinion from conservative trades-unionism to extreme Socialism, were cast without returning any members to the House of Commons; this year more than half a million votes were cast, with the result of returning a body of representatives sufficiently large and important to command a hearing and to count as a factor in the legislative history of the day. It must not be forgotten that no small contribution to this result was made by the Irish vote throughout Great Britain, which in many districts was cast solidly for the Labor candidates under the direction of the United Irish League, which recommended, as reported in these columns at the time, that in all cases where a labor candidate who was sound on the question of Home Rule was in the field, the Irish vote should be cast for him, unless he stood against an old and tried friend of the Irish cause. It is impossible to predict the immediate results on legislation of this immense increase of the representation of the working class; but no one in England questions that it will be very great, and that a new epoch in the Parliamentary history of the country has begun. One of the results in the near future will probably be the granting of some degree of Home Rule to Ireland; for, as a class, the labor men are very sympathetic with the movement to remove restrictions from Ireland, and to give that country greater political and economic liberty. The Liberal triumph

promises to be of far greater significance than an ordinary political party victory.



Shall We Legalize Homicide?

Now that the proposal to legalize the killing of men who are adjudged to be hopelessly ill, and thus put them out of a suffering difficult to endure and sometimes more difficult to witness, has been thought worthy of serious consideration by the Legislature of Ohio, it calls for serious consideration by public journals. The fact that a bill to legalize homicide has been introduced into the Legislature indicates nothing, for apparently legislative etiquette requires the legislator to offer to the body of which he is a member any measure, whatever its character, which any of his constituents submit to him. The fact that this bill has been referred to a committee for consideration by a vote of 78 to 22 indicates very little. For aught the public now knows, every member who voted for such reference did so because he believed the surest method of putting an end for all time to this proposal was to have it given careful consideration. But the fact that it has been so referred makes it wise, if not necessary, to state the objections which to most rational thinkers appear conclusive against this proposal to make homicide lawful.

The objections are not merely the practical ones which occur to any thoughtful man on the first consideration of the subject: that it would open the way for cunning, unscrupulous greed to commit murder which would be very difficult to discover, and for which discovery and punishment would furnish no remedy; that it would tempt some guardians of the sick to rid themselves of their burden, sometimes by deceiving themselves, sometimes by deliberate deception of others; that the sentimentalists who could not endure the sight of suffering would be incited to relieve themselves of the heartbreaking sight by accelerating the death of a sufferer whom a wiser, stronger, and less selfish love might recover to life; that it would in

innumerable cases add to the terrors of the sick-bed by stimulating fears that would be natural even when they were wholly groundless; that it would make the patient often look forward to the visit of the physician with dread instead of with hope, and, by authorizing the doctor to decree the death of his patient, would greatly enhance the difficulty of curing him; that it would make it easy for quacks and charlatans to conceal their failures by contriving to put their patient out of his misery by putting him out of life; that it would ask physicians to exercise a judgment which very few right-minded physicians would be willing to exercise, and would put upon them a responsibility which only the unscrupulous, the light-minded, and the incompetent would be willing to assume. No provisions of the law, however carefully framed, no professional education, however ideal, could adequately guard against these dangers. But were it otherwise, more serious objections remain.

If a law authorizing homicide in order to lessen human suffering were passed, we do not doubt that it would be pronounced unconstitutional by the first court which was called upon to adjudicate upon it. Government in America possesses only delegated powers; and power to kill, except as a punishment for crime, has never been delegated to the government of either the State or the Nation. The Constitution assumes that the right to life, as the right to liberty, is, in the language of the Declaration of Independence, "unalienable." No doubt slaves were often more comfortable in slavery than in freedom; but no man can by any deed contract himself into slavery. As little can he consent to his own death. This unalienable right is assumed as fundamental in that article of the Constitution which declares that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons . . . shall not be violated;" and in that other article which, providing that no person shall be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb for the same offense, carries the necessary implication that he cannot by any act of government be put once in jeopardy when he has committed no offense.

But a law legalizing homicide would not only violate the provisions of the

United States Constitution, it would be subversive of the very foundations of government. Government is based on the right of man to use whatever force is necessary to protect his own person and property, and the person and property of his neighbor, from wrongdoers. To use for the purposes of destruction that power which was given only for the purposes of protection is to overthrow government and loosen all the bonds of loyalty. If a government will not or cannot protect the lives of its citizens, it is no longer entitled to their allegiance. It is true that government sometimes destroys property, as when it blows up a building in order to check the progress of a great fire. But in this case it destroys some property in order to preserve much more property. It is true that the State sometimes puts the murderer to death. But the only justification for capital punishment is that it is necessary to destroy the life of one guilty man in order to make safe the lives of many innocent men. But for government to destroy life in order to lessen suffering is for it to violate the very principle which gives it the right to exist. Man has a right to destroy life to protect other lives. But he has no right to destroy life to prevent suffering. The issues of life and death are not in his hands. They are in the hands of One wiser, stronger, more tender than himself. The law of the ancient Table is but the echo of the universal conscience: Thou shalt not kill. To legalize homicide is to make the State an organized offender against the law of God.

We do not see how any Christian can entertain a doubt upon this subject; if he does, a brief reflection upon his Master's example should suffice to dispel it. If ever anticipation of terrible suffering could justify escape from it by suicide, it would have been justified in Christ's case. He looked forward with certain prevision to those hours of prolonged torture upon the cross. He knew that the sword would pierce through his own mother's heart also. But he faced the anguish with calm resolve. "The cup that my Father giveth me, shall I not drink of it?" he said. And by that consummation of his Passion he did not

less for the world of men than by all his teaching. Suffering is the world's medicine. To alleviate it, lessen it, succor the suffering from it, is divine. But to flee from it before God's time by suicide is always cowardly; to destroy the sufferer's life before God's time would be murder.



A Great Lay Order

Comparatively few people in this country are aware of the magnitude and importance of the religious forces directed by the Young Men's Christian Associations. They do not know, unless they happen to have relations with these Associations, the vitality of their methods, the increasing skill with which they are using their instruments, and the great and growing need of their work. The Outlook prints this week the third of a series of studies on the organization, present condition, and prospects of the Association in the United States. Although not wholly free from criticism, these articles are in the main a record of remarkable advance as regards the underlying idea, method of work, and conception of opportunity. The writer does not exaggerate when he characterizes the Association as a modern lay order, closely related in spirit and by definite attitude to organized Christianity in all its forms. The Association has an independent existence and is doing work outside the churches of an importance and a magnitude quite as great as that done by many of the churches to which it ministers. It long ago allayed the fears of those who dreaded it as a possible rival of the Church, for it has revealed itself everywhere as a feeder of the Church. But what the Church cannot do in many communities the Young Men's Christian Association does; it is able to lay its hand on hosts of men who will not enter the church doors, and, having brought them within the reach of its influence, it ultimately sends them inside the churches. It has rendered a real service to the Church by broadening its conception of the religious man and of religious interests. The great attention which it has given to physical develop-

ment represents one of its best services, not only to young men but to the Church, and has gone a long way towards destroying the last vestige of the atheistic and divisive mediæval conception of the antagonism between the body and the soul—a warfare to be terminated, not by the humiliation of the body, but by bringing it into subjection to the spirit and making it the instrument of a richer and fuller life. If the early Renaissance was the rediscovery of man and of nature, the later Renaissance has been the rediscovery of the body as the habitation of the soul, and its re-establishment in dignity and worth.

The Association has also allayed the fears of those who saw in it the danger of a pietistic, conventional, and unvirile type of religion, a coming together of men of good intentions but weak in native qualities and force, largely free from temptations because lacking in virility. Whatever ground there may have been for the criticism of the membership of the Young Men's Christian Association as "goody-goody" and anæmic has long ago disappeared from most Associations. Nor has the Association succumbed to the danger foreseen in its early career that its influence would tend too strongly to the seeking of material success, and that its standards would be purely commercial. That it has sometimes yielded to this influence is true; that in some Associations commercial ideals are too strongly urged and commercial success too constantly emphasized as the end of living is also true. There was no reason why the Young Men's Christian Association should not reflect to a certain extent the aims, opinions, movements, and interests of the country as a whole, and those aims and interests have been, and are likely to be for a long time to come, very definitely stamped by the commercial spirit. But the Association has been saved, as the writer of these articles has pointed out, by its embryonic response to the appeal of the pressing industrial and sociological problems of the hour. There are, and will continue to be, members of the Association whose only interest in it arises from the fact that they can learn in its night and

day schools to earn more money; but many members, under the guidance of the most progressive Secretaries, and the Associations as organizations, are taking up the task of interpreting religion in terms of practical service and of the brotherly spirit. The Association has still a long way to go, but so have the churches. It is of the utmost importance, however, that the men who direct the energies and activities of the Association should define more clearly to themselves and to others the higher ideals for which it stands; and while they endeavor to pave the way to success and to open the doors of opportunity to young men, they should make it their business to interpret success in spiritual terms, and to impress on the young men who come under their influence the highest ideals of unselfish living.

The work of the Young Men's Christian Association has now become so vast, its membership so large, its facilities and instruments so well ordered and so finely adapted to their ends, that it has assumed a great responsibility, and those who appreciate most deeply what it has done are most deeply concerned with the question what it can do in the future. Are the men who are responsible for the broad policy of the Association aware of the greatness of their opportunity? Do they realize fully what can be done with the tools in their hands? Do they understand the meaning of their access to the young men of the country. Are they taking a statesmanlike view of their duty and their prospects? These questions are not asked in the spirit of criticism, but from a deep appreciation of what has been done, and in the earnest hope that the Young Men's Christian Association may command and exert an influence in this direction which will utilize to the utmost an opportunity for religious and ethical training the like of which has perhaps never come in the way of any other lay body. Among all the forces which are to-day at work in American society to build the Nation soundly and solidly on immovable foundations, there is perhaps no force greater than that in the hands of the Young Men's Christian Association.

THE MOROCCAN QUESTION

BY PROFESSOR E. MONTET, D.D.

Dean of the Theological Faculty of the University of Geneva, Switzerland, author of "A Journey in Morocco," etc.

AN International Conference of the Powers to settle the Moroccan Question is taking place at Algeciras. Will this Conference really solve the Moroccan problem? We may be permitted to doubt it. For one who is acquainted with the history of Morocco since its entrance into relations with the European Powers there can hardly exist any illusions on this subject. The policy of the Sultan of Fez has always been to play off against each other the interests and selfish ambitions of the Christian States, and in this way to neutralize their influence. It will in all likelihood be the same after the Convention of Algeciras.

When the German Emperor so brusquely intervened at Tangier, he wished to arrest the action of France in her Moroccan projects, and, it must be admitted, he has succeeded. But his political course, it must also be said, is a short-sighted one, and, what is more, it is a policy entirely to be condemned from the superior point of view of the interests of civilization, and from a humanitarian standpoint.

Whoever considers the matter from the latter point of view, which is the only true one, whatever may be going on at the present day in Morocco, will recognize that the deplorable state of things in that country can only be corrected by a single will; that is to say, by the intervention of a single European Power.

The experience which the writer has acquired during a number of years past in Moroccan affairs, added to the knowledge which he has of that country as the result of an extended journey of study and exploration (1900-1901), qualifies him to posit certain facts as the basis of the affirmations which he ventures to make.

Morocco, which geographically is only a few hours from Europe, is in point of

civilization removed from it by many centuries, and in passing from France or Spain to this corner of Africa you pass from the twentieth century to the Middle Ages; this is said literally and without figure of speech.

There is not in Morocco any avenue of communication, any railway, any road, any telegraph line. The roads the most traveled (Tangier to Fez, Mazagan to Marrakèch, etc.) are simple tracks, good in a flat country with firm ground, and detestable in the mountains or in marshy districts. Outside of these "grand roads" the traveler cuts across the fields and passes where it seems to him best. I have journeyed in the Atlas Mountains, trailing after me some fifteen pack animals bearing baggage, tents, and provisions, having as a guide only my compass and the tracks made by the feet of horses and mules which had previously passed that way. The sole bits of road worthy of the name which I encountered in Morocco, between Larache and Rabat in particular, were remains of Roman roads. In Morocco, a country notable for its numerous water-courses and many large rivers, there are few if any bridges. One may count perhaps half a dozen of them, of large size, in a country a third larger than France. These large bridges are of Roman origin or date from the Middle Ages. I had to cross two of them. One was on the route from Fedhala to Casablanca. It would have been more prudent, with the beasts of burden, to pass over by fording the stream. The other was near Marrakèch (Morocco). The great holes in the roadbed of the bridge warned the traveler to proceed with the greatest caution.

Morocco is a country without administration. Outside the custom-houses which in the ports open to Europeans are actually under the control of France, the taxes are collected in an altogether

arbitrary fashion. When the Sultan is in need of money, he demands it of his Kaids, governors of provinces, cities, or districts; and the Kaids, bringing pressure to bear on their officials, exact from them double or treble the money needed. In December, 1900, passing through the great market of Souk et-telâta, where more than three thousand Moroccans from all parts of southern Morocco were gathered to exchange their products, they came to me and inquired—inquired of me, the European traveler newly arrived from the seacoast—if it were true that shortly the supervision and control of the Kaids would be superseded by that of European officials. The natives seemed happy at the prospect of this change, which they believed imminent.

A country which has neither roads of communication nor a well-regulated administration is a country in which security is precarious. When I traveled in Morocco, the country was in the midst of peace. I was able to proceed from Tangier to Mogador along the coast, from Mazagan to Marrakèch, and to penetrate the great Atlas Mountains from Amizuriz to Dar-Ouled-Emplous, in the province of Haha, in comparative safety. I had nevertheless encountered real dangers, had been attacked once in the country of the Zaira, again at the bridge of Marrakèch, and had traversed a province in rebellion against its Kaid. To-day it would be altogether impossible for me to make such a journey.

Morocco is a country in which the administration of justice recalls that of the Middle Ages; a justice expeditious but barbarous. On arriving at Rabat I was shown the spot where, some time previous, three thieves, taken in the act, had been punished. They had cut off a hand and a foot of each of these poor wretches, and left them on the spot without succor of any kind. Two were dead; the third had survived his horrible wounds. At Casablanca I saw a Moroccan both of whose ears had been cut off by a Kadi with his own sword and on the open street, for I know not what offense. And what shall I say of the blind man whose eyes had been put out, and of other mutilated witnesses to the

justice of the Sultan? And then, finally, the prisons of Morocco! I camped at Mogador at the foot of the walls of the celebrated prison of that city. At the time of the revolt of Rehamna, in 1895-6, twelve hundred political prisoners were crowded together in this horrible place, fastened one to another in human clusters with heavy chains. These unfortunates were decimated by typhus, by filth unspeakable, and miseries of every kind. It was here that Raisouli was for political reasons chained to the wall for three years, and it was here that he nourished the hatred which he afterwards displayed against the Sultan Abd-el-Aziz in the affair *Perdicaris*. When I encamped at the foot of these gloomy walls, I heard during the night at regular intervals the cries of the jailers guarding the prisoners, and at times also the laments of these unfortunates, invoking Allah or imploring the grace of the Sultan.

Morocco, finally, is a country in which there is neither an army nor a police, in the European sense of those words, to make its authority respected. We have recently seen how the army has defended the Sultan since Bon-Hamana has begun his insurrection. The Sultan does not venture to come out of Fez; at some kilometers from the capital he would be kidnapped. If ever Morocco is invaded by the armies of a European Power, they will drive before them the regulars of the Sultan. The mountaineers only, of the independent tribes, will resist with tenacity and fierceness, and the Europeans will repeat the experience they had with the Kabyles at the time of the conquest of Algeria. I have attended maneuvers of Moroccan soldiers; they were most pitiful. I have even been present at military exercises conducted without arms. A European officer of artillery told me he had seen Moroccan cannoniers sighting their guns by removing the breech and making use of the barrel of the cannon as a telescope! At Tangier, at the time I stayed there, the artillerymen, deeming their pay insufficient, devoured the tallow which had been given them to grease their guns.

Such illustrations, drawn at hazard from various departments of the public life of the people of Morocco, will show

what the state of affairs is in that country, and that everything there is yet to be created and done.

One of my best friends in Morocco, a Counselor of State of the Sultan Abd-el-Aziz, said to me recently that it was necessary to begin the era of reforms in that country by the creation of roads and railways, and by establishing a well-regulated administration and an impartial justice. He was right, but this simple programme implies an entire revolution.

Will a federation of Powers be capable of accomplishing these reforms? It does not seem so to me. The manner in which the concert of European Powers is checkmated by Turkey enables one to foresee a similar hold-up of Europe in Morocco.

In order to accomplish anything it needs a strong will, and a single one. The great colonies which the European States have founded in Africa and in Asia have prospered only when they were under the direction of a single power. The same thing has been true of countries under protectorates. Morocco ought to become a protected country, as is Tunis to-day. This rule is best adapted for the present to the Musulman countries which fall under European domination. In these countries the great obstacle to European control is the religious question, or Islam. This

question can be solved only by leaving the nominal authority in the person of the Sultan, their religious head. Islam ought to be the holy ground which the Christian does not trench upon. The Mussulmans will consent to resign the government and administration of the country in temporal affairs on condition that their religious faith, their worship, their mosques, and all that belongs to their religion is treated with entire respect and not interfered with.

Does this mean that France or any other European Power can effect a peaceable occupation of Morocco? I should be glad to believe it, but I do not think so. An Arabic proverb tells us: "God has created men for war." The experience of mankind since its origin until now tends to confirm this utterance of the Arabian sage. This is to express the belief that to civilize Morocco will require some volleys of musketry and cannon. But what will this matter if justice, if good government, if personal security and all the benefits of civilization, follow in their train and are implanted there forever! Let us invoke, then, with all our might the hour in which Morocco shall pass under the protectorate of a single European Power. On that day, and on that day only, barbarism will cease to reign in that country, and a future will dawn for its unhappy inhabitants.

RADIANCE

BY STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER TROWBRIDGE

The mighty master Michael Angelo,
While working with his chisel, oft was known
To place above his head a candle prone,
That every stroke should be within its glow,
That he across his art should never throw
The shadow of himself; but carve each stone
In free accord with promptings from the Throne
To his responsive genius here below.

So may Thy love above my forehead shine
That neither shadows of a weary mood
Nor dark reflections of a sorrowed mind
Shall mar the lives God wills me to refine.
But ever may Thy loving spirit brood
O'er all my daily toil for humankind,

A MODERN LAY ORDER¹

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

WHEN the man at the club discovers what the subject of this article is, he will probably turn over the pages to find something else to read. To him it suggests the dull, the colorless, the vapid. When he thinks of the Young Men's Christian Association, he naturally pictures to himself a room where a group of innocuous young men are playing checkers, or a hall where an anæmic person with a limp Bible in his hands is exhorting a gathering composed of commonplace young men.

Even if such a picture were really representative once, when the Association was more nearly like its prototype, the original society of drapers' clerks, it is by no means representative now. In one city of the Middle West a very different picture comes to the minds of some of the most successful men when the Young Men's Christian Association is mentioned. They are members of a Gymnasium Club. Down a corridor they see doors opening into a series of compartments. Within one of these compartments a man, wrapped in a blanket robe, is resting after his exercise and bath. Other men are preparing for a game on the gymnasium floor and then a plunge in the pool. An attendant is moving about with the air of quiet efficiency. To others the picture is that of a room in which a couple of gasoline motor-cars are raised, by supports under the axles, several inches from the floor. Around each stands a group of men, one or two with wrenches in their hands. Under one of the cars a man is lying face upward examining the mechanism. They are members of the Automobile Class. To a group of boys in a Western city the Young Men's Christian Association means a room in which the furniture

and the fireplace are their own handiwork and where they gather to read, to plan their games, and to receive, perhaps unconsciously, a good part of their moral training. In a big machine shop once a week, just as the wheels begin to slow down for the noon hour, the men greet with a nod of recognition a newcomer who appears with a bundle under his arm. Taking their dinner-pails, some of them begin their lunch where they are; others gather in one end of the shop; still others set to work distributing song books. While the men are eating, the visitor chats with one and another; then the men join in a song to the accompaniment of a little portable organ, listen to a direct, homely talk on a religious subject of practical import, and, as the machinery begins the creaking that soon is to grow to a din, return to their places and resume their work. To those men that "shop meeting," a welcome diversion, if nothing more, is the Young Men's Christian Association. A railroad fireman leaves his engine after a night run, makes his way to the Association building, orders a hot meal with steaming coffee, has a smoke in the billiard-room, and then goes up to sleep in a clean bed, glad to escape from the dirty, crowded boarding-houses into a place he can call his own: this is the Association as hundreds of railroad men picture it. To the Japanese soldiers in Manchuria the Young Men's Christian Association, the society bearing the name of an alien religion, is the only place put at their disposal where they can in any comfort read and write.

There is little resemblance between any of these pictures and the scene presented by the gathering of a few dry-goods clerks in the purlicus of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in 1844. Yet out of the latter gathering all the activities which I have illustrated, and scores of others, many equally unlike their original, have sprung. On this continent at least it would be difficult to find a society out-

¹ This is the third and concluding article of the series on the Young Men's Christian Association, written as a result of travel and observation. The other articles appeared under the titles of "Christian Pagans" and "The Exodus from Philistia," in the issues of *The Outlook* for December 16 and 30, 1905, respectively. Editorial comment on this series will be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.

wardly resembling the first Association. That was little more than a prayer-meeting, composed of young men in the drapery trade. George Williams, its founder, who died only last November, lived to see the Association become a great lay order, masculine in constituency and character, unchanging in religious impulse, elastic in form, indefatigable in experimenting with methods, free from entanglement with any ecclesiastical body, capable of almost indefinite development, adapted to promote by every means individual and social wholesomeness, morality, goodness, righteousness, and prepared to be the instrument of any man or body of men intent on achieving that end.

Like other living bodies, the Young Men's Christian Association has thus been evolved from a very simple organism to one that is complex. At first a society of clerks, it has become adapted to most diverse classes, groups, and communities. The Associations established for railroad men soon became a distinct species. The nature of the railroad employee's calling (unless he is an "office man") requires him to live much of his time away from his family. The Association provided him with a home away from home. The Army and the Navy branches similarly became differentiated from the ordinary Associations by conforming to the conditions of the soldier's and the sailor's life. College Associations, finding already in colleges certain common instruments used by Associations, such as the gymnasium, the library, and the club-room, met the exigency by developing in other directions. At Harvard, for instance, the Association has been the leader in organizing the philanthropic activities of students. At Yale it is in effect the college undenominational church. Where large factories exist, industrial Associations, so called, have been formed with special reference to the use of workingmen. Associations conducted for colored young men have thrived. Special Associations have also been organized for Indians and for foreigners. Of such as these it is possible for me here only to make mention, to indicate the many modern ramifications of the Association

in America. The City Association, which is the original type, and from which all of these are departures, has been in turn influenced by them, as in the wide adoption of dormitories and the relaxation of arbitrary rules concerning conduct and amusements, both largely due to the example of the Railroad Associations.

One modification in the City Association deserves special mention. This is the development of special departments, and even buildings, for boys. Against this modification one Secretary made to me an emphatic protest. "I advocate the boy's coming into the general building, so that I can see him. He belongs to the organization. I want him to feel that he belongs to it. If a boy has to come in by a back alley entrance or go to a separate building, he'll drop out at sixteen, if he holds on as long as that. In this building the boys have the best rooms." There was no real change of subject when he added: "There is no smoking allowed in the building except in dormitory rooms. I don't want any. If we had a public smoking-room, there would be a lot of loafing. It's not very elevating. When a man goes to church, he doesn't claim the right to smoke there; he shouldn't here." This secretary recognized, as most secretaries do, that in dealing with boys he must exercise restraint. Parents who do not want their twelve-year-old son to smoke would justly hold the Association responsible if their son learned to smoke in a public room of a Young Men's Christian Association building. So he applied the same restraint to grown men as to boys, and assumed to decide for everybody what was "elevating" and what was not.

Association secretaries, as a rule, however, are coming to realize that the liberty which it is necessary to deny to the immature it is impertinent to deny to adults. They have already discovered, moreover, that a boy's interests and ideals are not those of a man. Instead of disregarding the men and adjusting their standards to the boys, or of abandoning the boys at the most impressionable age, they have grafted upon the Association trunk another branch, com-

monly called the "junior department." The man in charge of this department is surprisingly often one who has decided talent for gaining the respect and affection of boys. Some of these "junior departments" have acquired a very distinct character of their own. In one the boys have grouped themselves into clubs for various purposes, one of which was composed of the leaders among the boys. In another Association the central interest is provided by the summer camp; material for winter study and recreation is there gathered; *esprit de corps* is created by preparation for it; and throughout the year the groups of boys are largely determined by their natural grouping as they tent together.

There is an age, however, when the boys are not yet men, though they are no longer boys. It is during this transitional period, which is roughly that of the college undergraduate, that occurs a hiatus in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. The boy who is entering upon that period is becoming impatient with the restraint that he formerly accepted without question; but as yet he has not acquired the self-control which is expected of the man. It is then, according both to the testimony of secretaries and to the statistics of Associations, that he is most likely to leave the Association, not to return. If, in the attempt to solve the problem of those who, as one secretary expressed it, "are no longer boys and not yet men," the Association should put forth another branch midway between the junior and the senior department, it would act in accordance with its past history.

Coincident with this growth in diversity of forms there has been a growth in organization. This growth amounts to a constitutional change in the Association. By it has been made possible the multiplication of branches. Originally the Young Men's Christian Association was a voluntary organization whose members were its "workers," its officers, its executives. As its interests multiplied the Association employed men to do special tasks. Its first employed officer was called, I believe, a "missionary." Gradually the employed officer became more important. His function, at first

mainly that of a lay preacher and leader of evangelistic meetings, was enlarged. It included clerical duties. He became known, then, as a "secretary"—a title which is still attached to the chief employed officer. To clerical duties were added administrative. As the activities of the Association became more and more involved, these accumulated functions were distributed among several men. The office of General Secretary was created, charged with the duty of general oversight; the occupant of this office became the chief executive. Subordinate offices were devised—those of Physical Director, Educational Director, Religious Work Director, and the like—each charged with some distinct responsibility.

It is this body of employed officers which now really constitutes the Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the land. True, these men are nominally but the employees of a society in which there are many thousands of members; true, certain men elected from these members hold the property and can control its administration. As a matter of fact, however, the members of the Association exercise no authority, and the boards of directors or trustees seldom initiate any plans or guide the development of any project. The active members, who, in distinction from the associate members, have the privilege of voting, are most abstemious in the exercise of that privilege. Indeed, in some Associations their number is not even recorded. The character of the Association is derived almost altogether from the character of the employed officers, its prosperity due almost entirely to their efforts; its limitations are their limitations. I have referred to the Association as a lay order. It would be more accurate, however, to say that the lay order consists not of the members of the Association at large, but of the employed officers. The membership in the Association is fluctuating; the body of employed officers is stable. The members are hardly more than men who pay dues to obtain the privileges which the Association offers, or who engage in the work of the Association incidentally; the employed officers are men who have made

of the work for the Association their calling.

Of the small group of employed officers in a local Association the General Secretary is the head. He is the abbot or prior, as it were. His coadjutors, though nominally chosen by the Board of Directors, are generally selected by him. He impresses upon the Association the stamp of his own traits. If he is slovenly, the Association building is in disorder. If he is pietistic, the men who gather about him pass the pious phrase like current coin. If he is courageous in making experiments, the Association is permeated with the air of enterprise. If he is broad in his interests and can discern the signs of the times, the Association becomes a stronghold for conspirators on behalf of the public good.

In some Associations the tradition of the old days when the General Secretary and his coadjutors were little else than hired men is still strong. Such an Association I found in one of the important cities of New England. The General Secretary proved to be an amiable man, conscientious in the performance of his routine duties, and as absolutely incapable of doing anything original as he was of doing anything wicked. He was not unaware of the most obvious defects of the Association by which he was employed. He deplored its isolation, not only from the great mass of men, but even from the churches. But he was as helpless in respect of these defects as a coachman is in respect of the domestic infelicities of his employer. He had the special disadvantage of being responsible, not to an individual, but to a society. He was evidently studying to please, not one man's tastes—that is comparatively easy—but the tastes and whims and prejudices of a continually shifting group of people. Personally he may have had the courage of Luther, but officially he displayed the timid caution of a political time-server.

Happily, men of this type are slowly disappearing from the ranks of employed officers. They would disappear more rapidly if it were not for the unconscious influence of the so-called international organization. The fact that the Associations throughout the world are bound

together by a federal organization has made wasteful duplication impossible, and has enabled the Associations to render each other mutual aid; but it has also retarded the growth of independence among the employed officers. The officials of the international organization inevitably emphasize the importance of conformity. Uniform reports, which they call for from the secretaries, are impossible without uniform standards; and these standards they exalt. By virtue of their position, moreover, they are constantly acting as intermediaries between the Association at large and the public. They are consequently sensitive to any tendency which might temporarily alienate or even trouble their constituency. The federal organization has therefore urged upon secretaries the duty of submitting to the authority of their boards of directors. The handbook published sixteen years ago by the International Committee exhorts the secretary to take and keep "a subordinate place," and tells him that "he should studiously avoid making himself prominent in the community, in the press, or in conventions."¹ That such counsel this year would sound somewhat antiquated is due to the constitutional change by which the employed officer is rising out of the position of hired man and becoming a member of a new profession.

This elevation of the employed officer has been the unavoidable result of the process of ramification in the Association itself. When the Association was little more than a permanently organized prayer-meeting, it needed no employed officer; when it became a missionary organization, the only employed officer it needed could very well be a subordinate; but now that it finds itself called upon to solve new problems, to adjust itself to various environments, to become a versatile instrument for social amelioration, it cannot require of the men who are devoting themselves to its service anything less than that they be leaders.

Such a continuously widening experience as the Association has had could not fail to be educative. As the Association has tended to become multiple

¹ Quoted in the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago Official Bulletin, October, 1905.

in form and more highly organized, it is tending to become broad in spirit. It is now tolerant of much that it once vehemently denounced. The proprietor of a clothing store whose first comment on the Association of his town, when I called to see him, was a condemnation of it for having pool-tables was a survival of a past period. The only real objection to pool and billiards which I could elicit from conservative secretaries was an economic, not a moral, one; the games, they asserted, cost in money and in supervision more than they were worth. But this breadth of spirit is more than a tolerance of what was once thought intolerable. It is not a sign of a loss of convictions, but of the acquirement of new convictions. Perhaps I may indicate the ruling spirit in the Young Men's Christian Association by contrasting its traditional conceptions of democracy and of religion with the conceptions which are now gaining ascendancy.

From the first the Association has been democratic; that is, it has never been deliberately exclusive. Indeed, the more conservative secretaries seem to be the more insistent on democratic methods. One of these told me that in his opinion the Association was losing its democracy. He cited the newer buildings with their marble entrances, their artistic furnishings, their comfort and elegance. Another protested against doing anything for any particular class of men; he wanted everything that was done to be done for all classes. Another criticised the tendency of the Associations to treat men in groups. He would not provide any special accommodation for business men, or for mechanics, or for working boys. "The Association," he argued, "ought to break down class feeling. I believe in mixing clerks with mechanics, especially in social life." On this theory of democracy the Association practically acted for years. The result was that the men who did not care to be mixed with other men indiscriminately, without regard to any common interests, avoided the mixture by avoiding the Association. This was due, not to snobbishness, nor to class feeling, but simply to the fact that men prefer to

associate with those who are congenial to them. The Association consequently remained for a long time a class institution. The Associations governed by this traditional view of democracy I found to be the least democratic among Associations; to be, as a rule, composed mainly of clerks, salesmen, small shopkeepers, and the like. If in any such there happened to be a considerable number of artisans, I found on inquiry that they made little use of the building except to patronize the "educational classes," thus remaining a group largely by themselves in spite of the theory under which the Association was managed. The tendency now is to abandon that method of trying to force upon men democracy devoid of class, and in its place to adopt methods which will make the Association a democratic force—that is, a force in which all classes of men can and will participate. In a New England Association where the government had become virtually a close corporation, the secretary proposed that the members be grouped into clubs, each club to be represented on the Board of Directors. In that same Association the "junior department" is organized on that very basis; as a consequence, not only is the membership composed of all kinds of boys—street boys, working boys, and school boys—but the boys themselves direct their department. The experience of other Associations has confirmed the principle that democracy is promoted, not by destroying the barriers that keep the classes distinct, but by providing some service in which men of all classes can share. Association secretaries are, therefore, now more than ever inclined to the practice of forming within the local Association clubs, each composed of men mutually congenial, and at the same time to bring certain men from all these clubs together for certain kinds of service. Men who will never join in a common pastime or mingle naturally on a social occasion will heartily unite in carrying on a series of religious services or in advancing some project for municipal improvement. It is those secretaries who are acting on this idea that have had the greatest success in drawing into their Associations all classes of men.

Of religion, as of democracy, the Young Men's Christian Association is tending to take a broader view. Under the guidance of its employed officers the Association has been far ahead of the churches in practically regarding religion as a matter affecting a man's body as well as his soul. But in its attitude toward all modern intellectual movements in Christianity it has been extraordinarily conservative. It has been afraid of the least intelligent in its constituency. Yet it is growing in courage as it is growing in breadth of view. The narrow, conventional, mechanical, materialistic interpretation of Christianity I have heard in all its baldness presented only once in the various Association meetings I have attended. Then it was at a little noon prayer-meeting in an Association which is almost a byword among secretaries for its depressing lethargy. Less than a score of miles away its reputation for immobility was such that the mention of it was greeted with laughter. On the other hand, I have heard in several Association meetings interpretations of Christianity given which attempted to make account of the knowledge of the world and the Bible which men have now acquired. Few secretaries with whom I have talked have evinced hostility to the critical study of the Bible; though the opinion of many might be expressed in the words of one: "The religious conservatism of the Association has been its salvation, has kept it out of doctrinal controversy." I think it is very doubtful whether the so-called evangelical test in its present form could be adopted now if presented anew. One Association which I visited has formally discarded it, and is flourishing, though it is deprived of the benefit of the international organization; others have practically ignored

it and have not suffered. The most thoughtful secretaries are very well aware that the Association can no longer afford to disregard those intellectual difficulties which make religion a perplexity to many young men of to-day. Several Associations are supplementing the ordinary classes for "devotional study," as it is called, with courses in the literary study of the Bible. With the increase in the number of secretaries who have had a college training, the Association is less than ever subject to that fear of honest questioning and independent thinking which is the bugaboo of untrained minds. It is finding itself intellectually.

The development of the Young Men's Christian Association has been of the most normal sort. Its present tendencies are the natural product of its past history. Its first period of growth was one of branching out into a variety of forms. Its second period was one of organic development in conformity with the varied functions it was called upon to perform. Its third period, in which it is now entering, is one of intellectual growth in response to the experience it has gathered. These three periods are overlapping. The first is not yet ended. The Association was happily spared in the beginning the incubus of a philosophy or creed. Its capital was, fortunately, not a doctrine, but a religious and moral purpose. Now that the Association is reaching maturity, it can formulate a much truer philosophy than it could have had in the beginning. Its officers are now trying as never before to define its function, to put before its members an ideal. When that function is defined, that ideal formulated, it will not be based on theory and therefore be mechanical, but will be the outcome of experience and therefore be vital and growing.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLICY

BY JAMES SCHOULER

Author of "A History of the United States," etc., etc.

THE policy initiated by President Johnson upon his accession to office was substantially that which Abraham Lincoln had announced to his counselors and prepared to enter upon before his assassination. And this explains readily why Lincoln's Cabinet co-operated with the promoted Vice-President, and—all except Stanton—secured for him, despite any misgivings as to his temper or capacity for carrying that policy out, a harmonious and united administration, each member bearing his own share of the obloquy which followed. Some changes in this Cabinet came about naturally.¹ Yet Johnson made no reactionary changes, as various ardent Democrats urged him to do; and his new advisers—Alexander W. Randall, Orville H. Browning, and Henry Stanbery—were Northern men of sound Union affiliations and principle, worthy to be ranked as friends and followers of Abraham Lincoln. For the great Union party of 1864, we should remember, was made up of war Democrats as well as Republicans, and Lincoln was not rechosen, nor even renominated, without a strong factional opposition from most of those radical leaders who now opposed the plans of his associate and lawful successor.

Ward H. Lamon, the friend and former law partner of the murdered President, wrote Andrew Johnson, in February, 1866, that, to his own ample knowledge, as long Marshal of the District, peculiarly intimate at the White House, Lincoln's intended policy of reconstruction was "in exact accordance" with that of his successor; that Lincoln had known well the plans of the Northern radicals and opposed them; that he had meant to bring about "immediate reconciliation" between the sec-

tions, and pursue "a vigorous prosecution of peace." There is other clear testimony, perhaps even more conclusive, to the same effect.¹ But how tactfully and patiently, with consummate skill and regard for surrounding circumstances, would President Lincoln have pursued his ends, mingling as he did in his own nature both Northern and Southern sensibilities! He would have held well together his own party support, and avoided to the utmost an open schism. The popular confidence he had gained during his first term would have sustained him. Nor would his guidance have shown inflexibility of methods. He was an ingenious experimenter in politics; yet, having no pride of opinion, he allowed any experiment to fail which was not found feasible. While an emancipator at heart, and, as time proved, a determined one, he had sought first to persuade the loyal border States to emancipate upon the basis of National recompense; he had further proposed colonizing the blacks, when freed, in some jurisdiction abroad; and both these plans he quietly allowed to fail because they proved impracticable.

Andrew Johnson's influence as Chief Executive and reconciler of the sections may be said to have culminated on the Washington's birthday anniversary of February, 1866. He had now been President for more than ten months, and on the whole had administered the Government well, carrying himself with dignity and decorum on official occasions and in the crowded audiences of the White House. Delegations and visitors from all quarters of the Union had been well impressed by his frank and generous utterances, made in the full sincerity of a high official purpose. Once, since Congress had met and measured its majority strength against him, he had met its reconstruction measure with a

¹ Among those suggested for the Cabinet by letter to President Johnson, during his first year of office, were Dickinson, Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, and John A. Dix, for Secretary of State; also General James B. Steedman (whom influential men of all politics indorsed) and Francis Pickens, Jr., for Secretary of War.

¹ See Schouler's History of the United States, vol. 6, page 616, and citations.

veto, and had prevailed. The first Freedmen's Bureau bill, as framed and passed by the two Houses, was liable to objection at the South as fostering something of a military despotism; and the President, when returning the bill, avowed that he shared with Congress a strong desire to give the colored freedmen an adequate security and protection. Good Union men at the North, tried and true, stood with him on this veto; nor was any breach among his sympathizing supporters perceptible.¹

For the holiday celebration of February 22 various mass-meetings were planned in Northern cities to sustain the President's policy as against Congressional obstructiveness. With Southern States excluded from representation, a majority, but not two-thirds, of each branch was against him. The monster demonstration of this kind—and a notable one indeed—was at the Cooper Institute, New York, in the evening. Francis B. Cutting, a prominent citizen, presided; and among those who figured in an imposing list of officers were Hamilton Fish, William C. Bryant, David Dudley Field, Senator Edwin D. Morgan, and Representatives Henry J. Raymond and William A. Darley. There was an immense crowd and great enthusiasm. Among the chief speakers were Denison, of Ohio—lately war Governor of that State and now the Postmaster-General—Raymond, and Cutting.

But the star speaker of this meeting was Seward, the premier, whose sentiments had been held in reserve and whose commitment at the present time was highly significant. His sickness, his narrow escape from assassination, and a more recent domestic bereavement, enhanced the sympathy of his fellow-citizens upon this first emergence from seclusion. Seward spoke amid a storm of cheers and applause. His speech was a deliberate one, and deserves a close study. Between the lines we may read that he feared an approaching breach in the great Union party; that his effort was to soothe, to reassure, and to keep

down the antagonism now developing between White House and Capitol Hill, among statesmen of fierce and willful temper. He said nothing of vetoes nor of negro rights nor of new guarantees, but he argued most strongly against all vindictive procrastination of peace; he protested against the present disposition in Congress to keep States indefinitely out and unrepresented; he opposed all proconsular or imperial government at the South. To the vindictive of his party associates he quoted with point the two fathers of a familiar comedy whose children, after much tribulation of disobedience, had come into the marriage originally designed for them. "Why not forgive?" says the one: "it has all turned out at last as you wished it." "Damn it," says the other, "because I have not had my own way of having it." "There never was and never can be," said Seward, "any successful process for restoration and harmony among the States except the one which the President has undertaken." At the same time, he contended that the whole difference at the present time was one of pilots. "The country is completely safe," he proclaimed, "and will not be saved over again in this day and generation. It will be safe if you approve what the President says; it will be safe if you approve what the majority in Congress says; safe if you believe what they both say; safe, too, if you disbelieve and reject what they all say."

On this same Washington's birthday, Andrew Johnson in person began undoing all the good that he had thus far accomplished by making a highly imprudent and undignified speech from the White House balcony to a miscellaneous holiday throng of Washington residents who came thither to hear him. After an exordium, duly prepared, which set forth the reasons of his reconstruction policy in language unobjectionable, he yielded to various calls from the crowd (some of them probably his personal enemies who meant to shame him), and, with tongue unloosed as his temper rose, he berated by name his political foes. "What has Andy Johnson done?" was the theme of his rambling remarks at the close, as he complained of the fierce

¹General Sherman, February 4, had written him from St. Louis, expressing his hope that radical ideas would not prevail, and wishing that the President might carry out the entire pacification of the Union according to "natural laws." Johnson MSS.

assaults now made upon him by Northern radicals in and out of Congress.¹

Congress now passed its Civil Rights Bill for the negro by a significant two-thirds vote in the two Houses, and the question with Andrew Johnson was whether to interpose a veto, likely to prove futile, or to improve his last good opportunity for composing the new political strife and reuniting his support. Two earnest letters reached him while he deliberated, both from prominent men at the North hitherto among his friends. One of these, March 17, was from Henry Ward Beecher, who besought the President to sign the Civil Rights Bill, both "because it is right" and because "it will harmonize the feelings of those who should not differ." The writer realized "the deep tide of moral feeling North," and had suffered among his own friends from being thought a supporter of the Administration policy. The other letter was a long one, March 22, from Governor Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, a gallant soldier, whose support had been open and constant to the present date. The advice he now tendered confidentially was frank and outspoken, yet judicious and respectful in expression. "The Western sensitiveness," he wrote, "is great lest the advantages of this war be lost now by a mistaken statesmanship. We should conciliate the loyal spirit, wherever we can do so without sacrifice of principle." Since lately returning from Washington he has been impressed with the belief that the Democratic party are hypocritical in supporting the President's policy. And most earnestly he wishes the President to approve the Civil Rights Bill—to "strain a point in order to meet the popular impulse, rather than make a strict construction the other way." "My own view," continues the Governor, "is that ultimately it will be found that a separation of the races will be found

necessary; but as no one can tell how long it will take natural causes which are at work to bring about that result, I recognize the necessity and propriety in the meantime of giving to the freedmen a large measure of kindness and protection, rather than in any way to stint the justice they have a right to expect. . . . Though some provisions for enforcing the civil rights bill are objectionable, yet they are civil provisions, under the check of laws and legal responsibility, and not the unrestrained despotism of military power which was embodied in the Freedmen's Bureau bill."

President Johnson, however, returned the Civil Rights Bill to Congress March 27; the two Houses speedily passed it over his veto—even Dixon and Doolittle among his friends failing to sustain him in the Senate on this occasion—and the bill became a law without his signature. And so it was, later in the session, with a new Freedmen's Bureau bill, better framed than the original one for meeting his objections. The breach between the Executive and the present Congress thus became irreparable, with two-thirds in both branches instead of a majority now unified against him. Johnson's obstinate resistance was largely maintained on the argument that they had excluded rightful representatives of the South, who, if admitted, would have reversed results. The Fourteenth Amendment passed Congress presently, in an utter disregard, though constitutional, of the President's wishes or participation, and finally Tennessee alone from the insurrectionary region was admitted to representation. The long session closed with the rupture complete between Executive and Congress, and each prepared to test its strength with the country at the fall elections. Now, as Andrew Johnson's supporters concluded, the line would be drawn distinctly between friends and foes, and men must take one side or the other in the approaching campaign.

Yet, in justice to Johnson himself, it should be conceded that the new President steered clear of Tylerizing, and would not commit himself to those peace Democrats who now saw the chance for cementing anew their old alliance

¹ It was widely reported and believed at the time that the President had fortified himself for this critical occasion by a glass too much. Such was certainly the case when he was inducted Vice-President and got into the same rambling and undignified vein; for of that fact his own MSS. preserves the proof, and he had doubtless resolved not to repeat the offense. Johnson probably resorted less frequently to alcoholic stimulants than some of our most famous generals; yet the few occasions of such exhibition were highly unfortunate for him and his supporters. He carefully preserved, however, among his papers some newspaper reports of such colloquial speeches, with verbal corrections by the pen, as though not ashamed of them.

with the South. New York Democrats labored in vain with their Washington friends to get Seward turned out of the Cabinet, and to have the whole Government patronage bestowed on their political behalf. In November, 1865, Preston King, Collector of the Port of New York, had died suddenly, but after an interval of many months the successor selected for this chief custom-house and post of local patronage was one whose personal integrity as a financier was regarded, and not his political influence.

Every little while, through all these first twelve months, had come a petition to the President from one quarter or another to appoint Francis P. Blair, Jr., to his Cabinet. Johnson's manuscripts show, as to the three Blairs, that they made strong and mischievous effort to embroil him with his Republican supporters. But counter advice reached the President to "keep the Blairs out of his confidence," and such advice went not unheeded. Blair senior is seen in March, 1866, urging the President to veto the Civil Rights Bill. His son Montgomery—ex-Postmaster-General under President Lincoln, and now a leading practitioner in the Supreme Court—was incessant with written advice; and, living as he did near by the White House, he probably had many oral interviews besides. Letters from his own correspondents are in this manuscript collection, indorsed with sharp comment of his own.¹ And frequently Montgomery Blair is seen seconding the New York efforts to have Johnson make alliance with the Democrats, reorganize National politics, and, displacing Seward as well as Stanton, make up a new set of advisers for his administration.

A letter of April 11, 1866, appears explicit enough on this point. Some had said that Blair bore a grudge against Seward; not so, he replies, and he has no reason for any, for Seward had done him various personal favors. "My strenuous opposition to him arises solely from the conviction that he, more than any one else, is responsible for the Civil

War, and that he is doing all he can to involve us in another by striving to keep the so-called Union party consolidated. . . . Though he is making an effort to keep up a conservative section within the Republican party, it is the avowed purpose of his associates not to break with the party. . . . Democrats are anxious to support you, and hence it is of the first importance to unite the Republicans who agree with you and the masses of the Democrats in order to restore the Union. . . . You should not keep Seward any more than Stanton and others who are known to oppose you. Mr. Stanton is acting in concert with Mr. Seward. The radical press are restrained from attacking Mr. Seward while pouring out their wrath against you."

Possibly it was with reference to this former Cabinet associate rather than to any present co-adviser that Secretary Seward is reported to have said about this time, in the course of a table conversation, that the new President was certainly a wise Executive in this respect—that "he did not tell one Cabinet counselor what another one had said of him."

One more letter is worth quoting in the present summary of President Johnson's first year's correspondence. That, once more, was supplied to his portfolio through the Blairs, who perhaps had been sounding the writer to find how far he would go in diverting Sumner's hold upon the Republican party in Massachusetts. John A. Andrew, now ex-Governor of that State, and practicing his legal profession, had visited Washington early in 1866. His letter of March 18, after his return, seems to have been written under some promise made to the elder Blair, but he inclosed it to the son, Montgomery. "My views," he writes, "were as clearly expressed in my valedictory as in my power. Those convictions I had reached after much disinterested and independent study and thought; and everything I have seen since has confirmed me in those conclusions." He was not ready to come out against the radicals of his State at the present time, and although by no means vindictive towards the South, as Sumner was, he plainly favored some experiment of negro suffrage, and otherwise strongly

¹ Thus, a friend writing him early from Florida that the Chief Justice's tour (see *The Outlook* for January 13, p. 72) was to secure that State for his own succession, with the aid of corrupt agents, Blair turned over the letter, with his written advice that "the Chase vermin should be squelched out."

wished to do the freedmen justice. "The country," he writes, "is settled on one point, viz., that the rebel States ought not and cannot be returned into the Senate and House without conforming to some arrangements made necessary by the rebellion, in order to adapt their constitutions to the changed relation of slaves." The difference between the President and Congress was only one of method, as it seemed to him. "I am myself opposed to public meetings of either interest, of any man, leader, or party, . . . and in this remark I include President Johnson himself." In short, Andrew was for soothing public sentiment and not irritating; and he felt no

doubt that the people would settle down on these points: (1) The extension of suffrage to all qualified therefor, without respect to condition, color, or descent; (2) universal amnesty for engaging in the rebellion; (3) requiring the popular vote of those classes of persons entitled to vote in 1860, and who had carried their own States into rebellion, on the adoption or rejection of the measures proposed as the basis of reconstruction in their States respectively. He saw no possible hope for peace on other conditions; and to him appeared otherwise, as the only final alternative for the South, the extermination of one race or the other.

SOME EXPERIMENTS IN SUNDAY-SCHOOL WORK

BY THOMAS DOANE PERRY

TO those who are watching the progress of our Sunday-schools it is gratifying to note the new and improved methods of work that are coming into use and the strong evidences of a determination to better understand and serve the religious needs of immature and growing lives. As a rule, Sunday-schools are far less efficient than most modern educational organizations. The past half-century, it is true, has seen many admirable methods of work, but it has also been characterized by an inability judiciously to eliminate such as have been inadequate to changing conditions and improved standards.

In general, it may be said that the older method of Sunday-school work was to select a series of verses or chapters from the Bible, and search for their applications to the problems of life; the newer way, and one that is rapidly coming into deserved use, is to begin with life problems and find help toward their right solution in Bible truths and characters. This latter method is especially interesting to young people at the time when standards and ideals of life are in their formative period. Between the ages of fifteen and twenty there is a natural reticence that leaves many im-

portant questions unasked, and yet it is a time when the keenest interest may be roused in the discussion of problems relating to Christian manhood and womanhood in the different activities of our complex modern life. Young people of this age need to be shown that religion and life are closely related, and that the practical solution of every-day problems, large and small, may and should be found in the truths of the Bible.

It has been a source of interest and pleasure to the writer to attempt a few experiments in somewhat unconventional lines of Sunday-school work. These have been laid out year by year, as conditions have suggested, and are therefore a gradual growth. Every experiment has been tried and proved workable. They were made upon a class of a dozen boys, ages averaging seventeen, who had the indifference and aversion to Sunday-schools characteristic of their age. The environment was a small city church, scarcely holding its own against the larger "downtown" churches, and lacking in its ability to reach and hold young people. The boys came from widely differing homes—a few where standards and ideals were high, a few where parents had been able to give

them little that starts a boy on the right road in life. About half the boys were still in school, and the rest at work.

The first experiment was a series of informal talks, based on chapters from Dr. Josiah Strong's book, "The Times and Young Men," with such titles as these: Three Universal Laws of Life, Service, Sacrifice, and Love; Present Social Conditions; Value and Use of Time; Bodily Health; True Worth of Education; Amusement Problem; Choosing a Profession; Use and Abuse of Money; Religious Problems of the Twentieth Century. These talks were given by the leader and followed by a discussion, often quite general and engrossing enough so that the superintendent's closing bell failed to attract attention. The appointment of a programme committee by the class, to select and submit courses of work, and the approval of each course in advance by vote, avoided dissatisfaction with the work under consideration.

In the second experiment talks followed by informal discussions were given on some of the prominent Old Testament characters. The introductory themes were: Inspiration of the Bible; Its Literary, Historic, and Scientific Value; Principles of an Evolutionary Creation; Helpful Conceptions of God; Beginnings of the Human Race. Following these were talks on Noah, Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samson, Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon. These character sketches dealt more particularly with the human side of these men, the odds against which they struggled, and the success they achieved in spite of obstacles. The treatment was largely new to the boys and held their interest. Little or no direct Bible study was done, and much of the matter presented was that approved by modern Bible students and critics.

Experiment three was an attempt to help the boys in settling the all-important question of a life-work, a problem toward the solution of which too few practical aids are usually given. The course comprised two series of talks on alternate Sunday noons; one by prominent men of the city, eminent in their professions, who explained the opportunities and ob-

stacles in their chosen work and summed up the inducements offered in the various fields to a boy who desires to become a vital Christian force in his life-work. In this way the following professions were presented: Law, Ministry, Teaching, Medicine, Engineering, Finance, Agriculture, Mercantile Life, Railroad, Manufacturing, Insurance, and the like. The boys were eager to improve the opportunities offered to ask questions.

The boys themselves were asked to give the other series on the lives of influential men of modern times, among whom were Edison, Agassiz, Henry Drummond, Cecil Rhodes, Bismarck, Joseph Jefferson, Horace Greeley, Phillips Brooks, Booker T. Washington, Robert E. Lee, Gladstone, Edward Everett Hale, Marshall Field, U. S. Grant, Roosevelt, Charles W. Eliot, and Dwight L. Moody. It was thought that careful preparation for one or two talks during the year would be of greater value to the members of the class than a more or less desultory study of successive lessons.

During this experiment the leader of the class was absent nearly four months on account of sickness. The class, through their president, faithfully carried on the work according to schedule, engaging and assigning speakers, with only slight assistance from the Sunday-school superintendent. All regular meetings were kept up and well attended.

The next experiment was more along the line of Bible study—a course in the life of Christ, considered topically. Theological discussion was avoided so far as possible, and yet such phases of the subject were studied as are puzzling to us all. The following topics were selected for the series of talks, given mostly by the leader: Prophecies Concerning Christ; Birth of Jesus; Education; Young Manhood; Temptation; Parables; Miracles; Disciples; Public Opposition; Last Supper; Betrayal and Trial; Crucifixion; Resurrection; Significance of Christ's Life in History; Christ, the Man; Christ, the Teacher; Christ, the Physician; Christ in Art; Christ in Literature. The effort was made to present these subjects thoughtfully and reverently in the light of modern

research and criticism. Care was taken to discuss both sides of disputed questions, thus giving the boys opportunity to weigh arguments and form decisions for themselves.

Alternating with the above were addresses, given by men active in municipal affairs, on various civic problems, chiefly those of local interest. The aim of this course was to develop in the boys just coming of age an interest in the affairs of the city and a feeling of responsibility for their good conduct, and also to show that the best type of Christian manhood is one that takes an active part in municipal life. The following topics are representative: City Organization, given by the Mayor; Municipal Ownership; Board of Health Problems; School System, given by the Superintendent of Schools; Parks and Boulevards; River Navigation; City Library, given by the Librarian; Board of Trade; What is Done with Tax Money; Young Men's Christian Association; Hospitals; Ideal Newspapers; Liquor Problem; Union Labor. Several of these topics were presented by those of the boys whose regular work put them in touch with that special phase of city life. Close attention was given to these speakers, and the growing interest in anything pertaining to the welfare of the city was quite evident. By unanimous vote of the class this course was continued another year as mentioned below.

The experiment now in progress consists of three distinct courses, the first of which is a series of talks on the history of religions, non-Christian and Christian, given by the leader twice a month. The following topics will give an idea of the course: Beginnings of Religion, Vedic Hymns, Brahmanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Shintoism, Judaism, Catholicism, Episcopalianism, Congregationalism, Other Evangelical Denominations, Salvation Army and Volunteers of America, Community Religions, Christian Science, and Spiritualism. This course was suggested by one of the boys, and, as outlined, indicates the influence of ancient Oriental religions in the shaping of Christianity, as well as the various forms Christianity

assumes to-day. The intelligent questions asked and the keen interest shown prove that such material is well suited to rouse interest and stimulate thought in boys of that age.

The second course is a continuation of the civic work by speakers outside the class once a month. The readiness of busy men who are carrying heavy responsibilities to contribute their time and strength for a talk to a class of young men is a fine evidence of the earnest Christian manhood to be found among our representative men in the different departments of professional and business life.

The other is a series of debates by members of the class once a month. The subjects of these debates are drawn chiefly from local civic problems, but include municipal ownership, organized labor, and Sunday observance. In these, as in work previously assigned to members of the class, almost no difficulty has been experienced in persuading the boys to take their parts. They seem to realize the value that such work may be to them, and the need of their contributing something to the work of the class. As one of the last debaters said, "You fellows all ought to debate, because you learn so much doing it."

In addition to the regular class work, a club modeled after the college fraternity was formed for social work among the boys, but the two organizations have been entirely independent of each other. Besides regular meetings the club has given one or two plays, an annual banquet, a dance, and occasional canoe parties and sleigh-rides. The fraternity idea has been of much assistance in holding the boys together.

These five experiments constitute about four years' work, although the last one is not yet finished. During this period the interest and enthusiasm in the class have grown slowly but permanently. None of the original members of the class have been lost except through removals or death, and the membership has considerably more than trebled. A number of the boys have materially lengthened the time they intended to give to their education, several now being in college. A wholesome respect

has come to the boys for religious work, and many of them are active in the various organizations of the church. In spite of its perplexities, the form of work here described abounds in interest and satisfaction, and the leader is by no means the least of those who receive full value for the time and energy invested.

Books suggested :

The Times and Young Men. Strong.
Work and Play. Bradley.

Old Testament Characters. Geikie.
Representative Men of the Bible. 2 vols. Matheson.

Old Testament Characters. Whyte.
Careers for Coming Men. Published by
Saalfeld Publishing Co., Akron, Ohio.

Life of Jesus of Nazareth. Rees.

Teachings of Jesus. Stevens.

Christ. McConnell.

Burning Questions. Gladden.

Things Fundamental. Jefferson.

History of Religion. Menzie.

Ten Great Religions. Clarke.

Religions of India. Hopkins.

THE IGNORANCE OF "GOOD" CITIZENS

BY J. HORACE McFARLAND

President of the American Civic Association

"WHAT is the debt of your city?"

"I—I don't know."

"Is there a legal limit to the bonded debt, and has it been reached?"

"Indeed, I've forgotten!"

"Do you remember the tax rate?"

"Er—well, it's pretty high."

"What is the total valuation, or assessment, for tax purposes?"

"Let me see; I think it is about—no, I don't remember."

"Do you know what the basis of the assessment is?"

"It seems to me it is about full valuation. Wait; no, it's seventy-five per cent., I think. You see," he added, apologetically, "I don't look after these things. I'm not in politics!"

The speaker was my host in a mid-Western city, in which I was to address the local improvement society that evening upon the necessity for a civic awakening. He had just been telling me how his good wife had been endeavoring to have the Mayor and the city Councilmen come to hear me, and he added, as we drove along in his well-appointed brougham, "I hope you'll stir them up; we need all sorts of improvements."

Then followed my questions; for improvements cost money, and the first thing to be considered is, Where is the money to come from? But my host, active in the forward movement in his

city, a man of intelligence, wealth, and position, a typical "good" citizen, didn't know the first thing about the statistics, the finances, and the taxing plan of his own town. Wait; I wrong him—he did know, and state with pride, the population of the city. "We have thirty-five thousand people here," he said, "and we will surely have fifty thousand by 1910"—all this with great pride. "And we have the greatest implement factory in the State; I tell you, we're growing right along!"

I never knew one to fail on the population! But my friend's ignorance as to the town finances was not at all singular or unusual, and I was in no way surprised. The next day I called on the Mayor of this lively little city, and he told me what I wanted to know, except that even he got the tax rate doubled, correcting himself shamefacedly before I left, after telephoning to the City Clerk.

That evening I was to speak on the same subject in a progressive city claiming more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. At the pleasant dinner before the address my hostess—it is always a good woman who starts these efforts!—introduced me to some representative citizens, fine men all of them. One, an architect of prominence, was also president of a business men's organization. Another noted architect was there, and also the very active secretary

of another trade organization. An ex-judge, the senior member of a prominent law firm which represents a large telephone company, sat next to a prosperous leather merchant.

I put the same questions asked above to the whole table. The silence was eloquent until the hostess asked us, "Would we have more of the salad?"

But the judge, when he had reflected, did know the constitutional debt limit, and the secretary added to it the fact that a State law provided for a five per cent. annual sinking-fund tax. No one was entirely sure as to the exact tax rate, and not one of these selected "good" citizens knew enough about the city of his home to tell me how the parks were sustained.

A few weeks before I had visited another and larger city of great progressiveness, having for its Mayor a man of National repute, and the most efficient Chamber of Commerce I have yet learned of. There was a great civic gathering, and my host was the owner and editor of a daily paper of considerable prominence. I catechised him about the city's financial condition, but he was blissfully ignorant, except that "C—— was growing very rapidly, sir!" Pursuing my inquiries at the City Hall, I finally found one man, a Commissioner of Public Works, who was thoroughly well informed. The rest of the officials knew a little, but not enough to hurt!

I might cite many more instances of the ignorance about city business affairs that I have uniformly encountered among the "good" citizens in dozens of cities I have visited in the last three years, but I think my point is plain. I cannot record one instance of even relatively complete primary knowledge—just primary knowledge of city affairs, I mean—possessed by any one man I have interrogated, unless he was a city official. Indeed, in one case, that of a Middle States city of about seventy thousand population, in which I had a two hours' informal conference with the Mayor and the Councils about a park system, there was not a man among them who definitely knew the assessed valuation upon which taxes were assessed, or the total of the city's current bonded indebtedness.

Of course I do get interesting sidelights in answer to questions. The ex-judge with whom I dined as above mentioned, and who introduced me later to an audience of his townspeople, told me how he had drafted a bill, and helped have it passed by the State Legislature, permitting his telephone company to erect its poles on any city or town street, or on any country road, without regard to local conditions or objections, and but slightly subject to any regulation! It is in that State just as if in New York the Legislature had given telephone companies the right of eminent domain, permitting them to plant poles at will in Manhattan!

But my desire is to emphasize the danger—indeed, the criminality—of the prevailing ignorance of "good" citizens about the financial affairs of their own home cities and towns. Many a man who reads this can talk luminously about the Panama Canal, upon which he has opinions, but cannot tell the debt or the debt limit of his own city. Another will tell you just how the railroad rates should be regulated, but he will be absolutely ignorant as to the cost of water or of electric lights locally. A sneer will be heard from your friend about the ignorance of the lately resigned president of a great insurance company as to salaries paid to his associates; but can he tell you the salary of the Mayor of his city?

A municipality, large or small, is responsible for its debts, and the citizens thereof supply the money, in the shape of taxes and assessments and rates, to pay those debts and to run the business of the municipality. Every dollar of taxable property the citizen has is liable for the debts of the municipality. That is, the assessed valuation of a city is its capital fund, upon the credit of which it may borrow money on bonds issued, and the taxes provide its working income and its means of repaying loans. In most commercial corporations the stockholders know with more or less accuracy the capital stock, the bonded indebtedness, the rate of dividend, and the value of the property; yet in the municipal corporation, of which each taxpayer is a stockholder, with all his property liable to assessment, ignorance of these primary

details is the rule, and knowledge the exception.

Really good citizens are intelligent citizens, who are informed at least upon the fundamental facts of the finances of their immediate municipalities. Ignorance always promotes "graft," and for such ignorance the taxpayer, who carelessly pays without knowledge—but often with grumbling—and votes without information, has no excuse.

Whenever business men are business-like in their relations as citizens to municipal financing; whenever they consider taxes and assessments and bonds and salaries as they would in private or corporate life; in short, whenever "good" citizens are honest in knowledge as well as in criticism, grafting will become a hateful memory only.

I want to suggest a little catechism for citizens to ask themselves, in the hope that where the answers are at first missing, investigation will supply them. Only when these or equivalent queries can be answered from memory with an approximation to accuracy is a "good" citizen really fit to vote upon any local affairs involving the use of money:

What is the assessed valuation of your city or town?

Is it a full valuation, or at an agreed-upon discount from the real value—that is, if your property is assessed at \$5,000, would you be willing to sell it for that sum?

How is this valuation determined, and how often is it revised?

What is the city debt, and what rate of interest is paid upon it?

What sinking fund provision is there for the repayment of the bonded debt?

Is there a constitutional debt limit, and if so, to what per cent. of the valuation may your town borrow?

What is the total tax rate, and how is it divided for city, school, and State or county uses?

These are the bare *primary* facts, knowledge of which is essential to honest and intelligent voting. A really efficient citizen will soon want more information, and get it, as to water rates, paving assessments, park maintenance, electric and gas light costs, the granting of public franchises, and other things for which he pays his money. He can't know too much!

SOME BOOKS ON SOCIOLOGY¹

THESE volumes treat of different aspects of social questions, and in different methods. We here attempt simply a description of the books for the benefit of the lay student of the social problem.

Professor Small defines sociology as "the process of human association." It includes economics, jurisprudence, ethics, and politics, as these are defined by Professor Seligman. For sociology deals with society as a whole, while economics deals with man's industrial relations, jurisprudence with his legal relations, ethics with his moral relations, politics

with his governmental relations. All these relations have been more or less the subject of action since the days of Moses, and the subject of study, at least, since the days of Plato; but the term sociology Professor Small attributes to Comte. Perhaps a more important division of sociology, or at least of sociologists, is one which Professor Small suggests. He puts them in four classes, according to their point of view: 1. The historical sociologists, who inquire how men came to associate as they do now. 2. The scientific sociologists, who inquire how they manage to preserve the *status quo*. 3. The prophetic sociologists, who are interested in inquiring what are the present indications as to the ways in which men will associate in the future. 4. The practical sociologists, who ask what is the thing to be done to make the association better than it has been and is. We wish that Professor Small had

¹ *General Sociology*. By Albion W. Small. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. \$4, net.

Principles of Economics. By Edwin R. A. Seligman, LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. \$2.25.

The Sociological Theory of Capital. By John Rae, M.A. Edited by Charles Whitney Mixter, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$4.

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. Edited by John R. Commons. Ginn & Co., Boston. \$2.50, net.

The Coal-Mine Workers. By Frank Julian Warne, Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. \$1, net.

followed this division in his volume, and told us historically how society has developed, what it is, whither it tends, and what we can do about it. His book indicates that he has the scholarship for the first and second tasks, the vision for the third, and the humanity for the fourth. But this he has not done. Instead, he has devoted the first half of his volume to a report, interpretation, and criticism of Spencer, Schäffle, and Ratzehofer, which may be of great interest to the special student, but are not interesting or valuable to the general reader, and do not appear to us essential to the second half of his volume, which contains his own interpretation of sociological laws. Nor is this portion of his book written so as to be understood of the common people. It is academic both in its structure and its phraseology. In one of his sentences he refers to "what we speak of in sociological jargon as the subjective environment." There is more "sociological jargon" than there needs to be in his pages. In brief, his volume is rather for the student, perhaps we might say the advanced student, than for the interested but not especially prepared thinker on sociological problems.

In this respect Professor Seligman's book differs from it radically. The treatises on economics are generally made well-nigh unintelligible to the laity by reason of their economical jargon. Professor Seligman's treatise is remarkable for its lucidity of definition and its simplicity of phraseology. Definitions at once so clear, so simple, and so accurate we have rarely if ever met in the literature of economics. Take, for example, wealth. Wealth is a commodity or service which possesses three qualities: first, utility—if the thing is of no use it is not a good at all; second, externality—skill, intelligence, virtue, are not wealth: a man is not wealthy until he has transmuted his intellectual qualities into some external object; third, limitation in amount—if it is free to all, its possession may make him happy but not wealthy: enjoyment of sunshine is not possession of wealth. Along with this lucidity and accuracy we find a balanced judgment; as in the author's recognition

of other than economic motives in the inspiration and direction of industry, in his dismissal of the "economic man" as a being that has no real existence and a fiction that is of no service; and in his recognition of the value of both the deductive and the inductive method in the study of economics. His volume is, we take it, intended primarily as a text-book, but it is, what text-books very rarely are, fascinating reading to any man interested in economic problems. Some of the conclusions will surprise uninformed readers of the capitalized press, as, for example, these (we condense): The permanent gain from a successful strike often outweighs the temporary loss of all strikes, including the failures. The growth of unionism has brought with it amelioration in the conduct of strikes and lessened their number. Unionism has been, on the whole, a conservative force. We commend this volume heartily to any thoughtful layman who desires to get from a responsible authority some grounding in the essential principles of industrial laws.

"The Sociological Theory of Capital" is a new edition, with a valuable introduction and annotations, of a volume published in 1834. The author should not be confounded with the John Rae who is the author of the well-known "Contemporary Socialism." The biographical sketch gives a pathetic picture of the author's struggle with an adverse fate—a picture which exemplifies the truth that it is almost as perilous to attack orthodoxy in economics as orthodoxy in religion. The preface gives the reader an admiration for the moral courage and the intellectual acumen of the author. His book is an attempt to show the fundamental errors in Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations"—a book which in 1834 was regarded with almost as much reverence by orthodox economists as was the Bible by orthodox Protestants. How radically he differed from Adam Smith is indicated by the following quotation from one of his chapter headings in the Table of Contents: "Instead of there being any grounds for a presumption against legislative interference, from the assumption that nature ought to be allowed to pursue her own plans; the

presumption is, on the contrary, that nature gave man his peculiar faculties for the purpose that universally, and as well here as elsewhere, he might acquire the direction of events, by discovering the laws regulating their successions." We do not remember to have seen more clearly and forcefully stated the argument for protection from its effect in promoting diversified industry and reducing the waste caused by expense of transportation. Mr. Rae's book is neither as radical nor as original as it was in 1834, but it is interesting as a contribution toward modern thought by a bold, original, and independent thinker. Professor Mixer ought not to have given to the public such a volume as this without adding an index.

"Trade Unionism and Labor Problems" we may dismiss with few words because it is impossible to deal with it in detail within our limits, and general criticism is in the nature of the case impossible. For it is composed of twenty-eight entirely separate essays on distinct aspects of the labor question, and contributed by different authors. A number of them have primarily seen the light in periodical publications, and all of them may properly be classified as periodical literature. Some of them are of more transient value than others. All of them are written by authors who are in general sympathy with labor organization, but we think none of them are writ-

ten for the purpose of advocating trade unions and their methods. In other words, they are not partisan papers; but their authors make no pretense to that bloodless and unhuman spirit, miscalled scientific, which can treat problems of human life, in which moral principles are involved, and on which both the moral and the material welfare of the community depend, as though they were problems in algebra or geometry. The volume is full of valuable information, but it is rather material for the student than history, philosophy, or sociology for the general reader.

In this respect "The Coal Mine Workers" differs radically from it. The author, Frank Julian Warne, is known to the readers of *The Outlook* by his contribution through our pages to their knowledge of the coal situation in Pennsylvania. He is one of that class of students of social and industrial conditions whom science and humanity combined have produced in America, and who are distinctly a product of a democratic country and a scientific age—that is, of a period in which love of humanity and love of truth are mingled in something like equal proportions in its best teachers. In our judgment, this book deserves to be characterized as an authority, and, as far as we know, as the best authority, in the limited field of which it treats—labor organization in the coal fields of the United States.

Comment on Current Books

Apostolic Succession and the Problem of Unity

Except for its untoward bearing upon efforts toward church unity, the majority of Christian people in English-speaking lands care nothing for the fiction that the clergy of the Anglican, Greek, and Roman Churches, and only they, are the genuine successors of the Apostles, and that these three alone constitute "the Holy Catholic Church." Against this fiction the Rev. Edward McCrady, rector of Grace Church in Canton, Mississippi, argues temperately and cogently with the "Catholic" party, who would commit the Protestant Episcopal Church to its support. Giving historical and documentary proof that neither this Church nor the Church of

England has officially adopted their theory, he contends that it is a mere theory, and one whose consequences are most to be feared by its supporters. "Let us beware lest we to-day, in vainly boasting of a mere outward succession from the Apostles, are not, like the Jews of old, losing the true inward succession that is alone of permanent value." The appropriate typographical style of this volume is highly creditable to Sewanee. (The University Press of Sewanee, Tennessee.)

The Castlecourt Diamond Case

An amusing detective story in which the author, Geraldine Bonner, carries her reader through many complications by a compilation of statements supposed to be

made by half a dozen or more people involved in the mystery—a not very probable thing in itself, but one productive of some queer contrasts. The plot is frankly farcical. (Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. \$1.)

The Egyptian Sudan This is one of the books enlarging knowledge for which the world is debtor to Christian missionaries. The account given of the Southern Sudan by the war correspondent Steevens, in his book "With Kitchener to Khartum," describes it as a worthless land, "a God-accursed wilderness." We have our own "bad lands" in the far West, but an account of these is no fair description of our country as a whole. The same may be said of Steevens's account of what he saw of the Sudan. Dr. J. K. Giffen, a missionary of the American United Presbyterian Church, tells another story of it. It was, indeed, almost depopulated by the Mahdist wars during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, but it is a land of splendid possibilities, the remnant of whose inhabitants is beginning to feel under British protection the healing and uplifting hand of Christian civilization. Dr. Giffen's book has much to say of this, in his interesting account of the people and their traits and customs. It is practically the only reliable and complete account in print of an interesting and promising country, of which the earliest mention is attributed to the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah. (The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. \$1, net.)

The Empire and the Century A scrap-book of expert opinion concerning the more important problems now confronting the British Empire and its several parts, this remarkable symposium of nearly nine hundred pages brings together a mass of information of substantial value to many classes of readers. Its predominating note is Chamberlainite, but the editor has included papers written by authorities who roundly differ from Mr. Chamberlain. Thus, a lengthy argument for protection by Mr. J. L. Garvin is followed by a defense of free trade from the pen of Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey. In all, the book contains over fifty essays and an imperialistic poem by Mr. Kipling. It is impossible even to mention the names of the various contributors, but an idea of the sound usefulness of this compilation may be gained from the statement that, in addition to papers dealing with the problems of empire in a general way, detailed studies—historical, political, economic, and military—are made of each of the colonies and dependencies. There are six articles on Canada, three on Australia and New Zealand, six on

India, six on South Africa, four on Egypt and the Sudan, and one each on the West Indies, Ceylon, Burma, the Straits Settlements, the British possessions in West Africa, and the East African protectorate. In every instance the writers are competent to treat of the themes allotted to them, and if their views are frequently colored by political preferences, they are nevertheless informative and deserving of close attention. Among the more general essays perhaps the most noteworthy are the contributions of Messrs. W. F. Monypenny, Bernard Holland, Richard Jebb, and John Buchan, who write respectively of "The Imperial Ideal," "The Crown and the Empire," "Imperial Organization," and "The Law and the Constitution." The last two deal with the different expedients whereby a closer union of the mother country and the colonies may be effected, and it is interesting to find that both Mr. Jebb and Mr. Buchan favor the colonial conferences plan as affording the starting-point for a permanent Imperial Cabinet. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. \$6, net.)

Lord George Bentinck Mr. Charles Whibley has provided this new edition of Disraeli's biography of Lord George Bentinck with a vigorous, indeed a forcible, introduction. It smacks of the campaign orator rather than of the essayist, passing from an adroit assault on Cobden and Peel and the principles they represented in the fiscal struggle of sixty years ago to a parallel between the protectionist leader of 1846 and the protectionist leader of to-day. The most thoroughgoing "tariff reformer" of modern England can find nothing to complain of in Mr. Whibley's eloquent flights, although the recent elections must convince him that the optimistic prediction with which the work closes is a trifle rash. From the historical standpoint, too, there is ample room for criticism. The sweeping statements common to campaign documents abound. We are told, for instance, that Cobden and Villiers "had little interest in the masses. They were the champions of the employers, and their end and aim was to reduce the wages of the workmen," and that Cobden "hated factory acts as bitterly as he hated trades unions." Comment on the book which has given occasion to this plea in behalf of the Chamberlain cause is unnecessary at this day. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. \$2, net.)

Napoleon's Love Story The Count de Soissons, who has translated this romance from the Polish of Wacław Gąsiorowski, points to its author as a "worthy champion of that art of novel-writing

which secured a world-wide renown to Sienkiewicz," and assures us that "he is a very able master of the historic romance, originated by Sir Walter Scott." Without being willing to indorse fully his high opinion of the youthful novelist—Gasiorowski is little more than thirty years old—we must say that "Napoleon's Love Story" has left a decidedly favorable impression on our mind. It is too long and treats of an unpleasant theme—the *liaison* between Napoleon and the beautiful Countess Walewska—but it is a strong piece of work, with passages of rare dramatic power and some fine characterizations. Gasiorowski, we are told, is an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon, but the Napoleon of these pages is the reverse of admirable, and the presentation should go far to disenchant undiscriminating hero-worshippers. A word of praise is due the translator, whose version is flexible and agreeable, preserving the unique individuality of the original. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. \$1.50.)

*The Open Church
for the Unchurched*

The Rev. James E. McCulloch, of Nashville, Tennessee, here throws upon the problem of city evangelization the light of a great example. Under the leadership of the late Hugh Price Hughes the British Wesleyans have shown in London what can be done in American cities, whose churches are said to be twenty years behind the forward movement now well under way there. Where we have city mission chapels the great central halls of the British Wesleyans are their largest and most costly edifices, and thither the crowds throng. In these strategic points the "open" or "institutional" church has its home, its arsenal, its altruistic supply for needs which other parts of the social organism—the home, the school, the government—fail to supply. What is most to the point, the ablest church leaders are put in command. These methods are worthy, not of entire adoption, but of wise adaptation to American needs. This is an inspiring book. As Bishop Hendrix says in its Introduction, "it is a picture of the firing line." (The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. \$1, net.)

*The Ranch on the
Ox-Hide*

The author of this young people's story of frontier life is Captain Henry Inman, whose volume on "The Old Santa Fé Trail" in a more systematic way but with immensely entertaining qualities revived the old days of pack trains, trappers, teamsters, adventurers, and Indian fighters. The same kind of material is here used in describing the hardships, perils, and sport of a group

of four boys and girls thirty years ago, and before the Indian, the buffalo, and the antelope had disappeared. (The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.50.)

*The Reconstruction
of Religious Belief*

In this book Mr. W. H. Mallock deals only with three fundamental articles of religious faith—God, freedom of the will, and immortality. Concerning what is distinctive in Christianity he has nothing to say. The foes he attacks are materialism and determinism. His attempt is to show, first, that faith in all three of the fundamental articles named above is essential to the social organism, and, second, that faith in at least the first two is really implicit in the agnosticism which ignores and the materialism which denies them. This is not an original argument, but it is put by Mr. Mallock in an original way. His book would be a third better if it were a third shorter. It appears to us quite conclusive to any one who is patient to read it and open-minded to give it attention. Simple as they appear to be to the superficial thinker, materialism and determinism are both self-contradictory, and their self-contradictions are by Mr. Mallock effectively exposed, though the process of argumentation is sometimes needlessly elaborated and complex. (Harper & Brothers, New York. \$1.75, net.)

Teachers' Guide

Dr. Martha Tarbell has produced a work for teachers of the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1906 which ranks with the best of its class. It would be difficult to excel it in the line which passes over all critical problems to illustrate and apply to pupils of all ages the teaching of the text as it stands. Aside from its immediate value for the current year, whose lessons are all upon the life of Christ, it has a permanent value for preachers in quest of "sermon-stuff." To these its copious selections from helpful writers and numerous apt anecdotes present a large quarry of illustrative material. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.)

*The United States
in the
Twentieth Century*

When M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu's work first appeared, *The Outlook* (October 29, 1904) devoted considerable space to an account of the scope and conclusions of the book, recognizing it as one of the most important volumes about the United States ever written by a foreign student and observer. The book has now been carefully and admirably translated into English by Mr. H. Addington Bruce, and will undoubtedly take its place as an informative and instructive survey of the industries, resources, and development of the

United States. The author is the son of the eminent economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and has himself published more than one book dealing with economic and industrial topics. He furnishes for this translation an extremely interesting preface, in which his view as to one tendency in this country and the danger of that tendency is thus expressed: "Of the qualities that have co-operated to elevate them [the American people] so rapidly to such a commanding position, the most impressive is a great, a tireless energy. Now that the obstacles raised by nature have been overcome, now that the country is already so wealthy that the individual cannot always hope to see his efforts as richly compensated as was formerly the case, there is danger that this precious quality may be to some degree lost. It seems to me that the first care of the Americans should be to maintain it in all its integrity. Now, the essential condition to the development of energy is liberty. Every restriction on liberty, with however good a purpose, diminishes the sentiment of individual responsibility and initiative. Yet we often hear mooted in America as elsewhere measures which, under the pretext of correcting abuses, would immeasurably extend the State's sphere of action and reduce the liberty of the citizens." Equally interesting is his remark in regard to the future of our great trusts: "I am persuaded that I ought to

adhere to my original opinion that the majority of these unwieldy organizations will be unable to survive an acute and prolonged period of depression. I believe, to put it briefly, that the attempt to monopolize a great industry and to control prices is certain to fail unless it receive direct or indirect governmental aid. And I am convinced that an unduly high opinion has been entertained of the dangers as well as of the strength of the trusts, and of the part they have played in the development of American manufacture." (Funk & Wagnalls, New York. \$2, net.)

With the Sorrowing No impulse of natural feeling encounters graver difficulty than a tactful ministration of sympathy in the home overshadowed by the wing of the death angel. To facilitate it this little book, edited by an experienced pastor, Dr. Frederick W. Palmer, of Auburn, New York, has improved in various ways upon manuals in common use. By its classification of Biblical selections according to their suitability for different circumstances, its prayers, and its choice "songs for faith and comfort," it offers "suggestions for the use of pastors, missionaries, and other visitors in the homes of sorrow," most profitable for the avoidance of monotony and formalism in the effort to discharge a sacred duty. (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 75c., net.)

Letters to The Outlook

MORMONISM

Of the letters sent us concerning Mr. Irving's article on "Some Aspects of Mormonism" we here print one entire letter and passages from a second in criticism, and one in approval. Mr. Irving stated quite as frankly as any of our correspondents the evils of the Mormon hierarchy. We cannot understand how his article could have been interpreted as a "defense of Mormonism." Nor do we find anything in the article to imply that "time will effect a natural cure of these evils." The difference between Mr. Irving and his critics seems to have been occasioned by the fact that he urges as a cure for those evils, not denunciation, but education.—THE EDITORS.

The amazing defense of Mormonism by G. A. Irving in *The Outlook* of January 6, 1906, comes as a surprise to many, in view of the startling disclosures made in the trial of the case of Reed Smoot, United States Senator from Utah and Apostle of the Mor-

mon Church, before the Senate Committee of Privileges and Elections.

We must take exception to one premise upon which the article is based—that prejudice against the Mormons exists to a large degree because of the biased reports of Christian workers in Utah, concerning whom the writer says: "From the very nature of his work, and the attitude of suspicion and hostile criticism which he often assumes on engaging in it, he is often blinded to the good of Mormonism." An apparently much more extended acquaintance with Christian workers in Utah allows us to assert that in hundreds of addresses given in the East by such there has not yet been heard one word which has differentiated the average Mormon in his social instincts and his neighborly attitude from other citizens, while each speaker has fully recognized and publicly granted that where hierarchic command does not limit his activities the lay member of the Mormon Church is quite as ready to do the kindly deed and to establish friendly

relations as the man of any creed. In addition, it is without question a fact that many of the strongest opposers of Mormonism, and thus known in Utah where they have lived for years, and who have spoken through the East on this subject, have yet the most pleasant relations with scores of Mormons, and are respected and loved in Mormon as well as Gentile communities. This is so eminently true of numbers of the best known of anti-Mormon Christian workers as scarcely to need repeating. Though they strive to lead him from the hold of a Church the doctrines of which are so notoriously "at odds at many points with Christian doctrine and the highest instincts of religious truth," yet it is not the Mormon as an individual with whom these workers have any quarrel, but rather with that organization whose history has been one long story of conflict with the United States Government, which has again and again broken its pledges to that Government, and which seeks the domination of the State by the Church, claiming its right to the temporal as well as the spiritual control of every member.

Our country is founded upon the absolute separation of Church and State, yet the Mormon Church has placed denominational teaching in the public schools of Utah. "Outside of two or three larger towns, every public school in the State is, in all but name, a Church school." Owing to Gentile agitation following the disclosures on this point at Washington, orders were issued from Church headquarters that such teaching should cease, but Mr. Irving assures us that it continues unchecked. "'Have you given up your religious classes in the school-house?' some weeks afterward I inquired of my Mormon neighbor. 'No, indeed,' said he, with a smile; 'it was never intended that we should.'" We are thus introduced to one of the marked features of the Mormon hierarchy—its duplicity, the public promulgation of orders to be quoted to tourists, to be published in Eastern papers, to mislead the unwary, but accompanied to the faithful by that underground information that informs him that these orders are for effect and not to be taken literally. From the acceptance of the manifesto of 1890 and the steps which finally led to Statehood, to the present, so full has Mormon history been of these examples that the initiated scan closely every order issued, to learn, if it may be, the inward meaning.

Church teaching has been continuously traitorous, and its logical result may be seen in one Mormon town, where last year the public observance of July Fourth was by proclamation of the Mayor set aside in favor of the celebration of July 24—a great Church

holiday; also in a Mormon town of southern Utah, where, on July 4, 1905, the flag was not hoisted on the public flagstaff until late in the afternoon, and was then placed at half-mast.

Hope has come to Utah in the overwhelming success at the polls last November of the new American party formed of those Gentiles and few Mormons who realized the deadening effect of the Church dominance in politics and the downward trend of civic life under its influence. The "Deseret News," official organ of the Mormon Church, published in Salt Lake City, while it does not definitely place the blame where it belongs, upon city officials under the control of the hierarchy, would nevertheless not agree with Mr. Irving, "Nowhere have I found personal safety more secure and property rights more respected," as it has repeatedly during the past few weeks set forth the dangers in the streets of Salt Lake City from thugs and the lack of safety provided by the police. This is, however, quite "another story," as many non-Mormon cities are equally unsafe after nightfall; but if the Church paper, corroborated by other Salt Lake City papers, is to be believed, that community will quite hold its own with the other cities as to robberies, hold-ups, gambling-houses, and brothels. Mr. Irving paints his picture with too flattering a brush.

We are further informed as to polygamy that, "so far as its practical bearing on life is concerned, it is fast becoming derelict." At the trial of Reed Smoot, President Smith, of the Mormon Church, testified that he had five wives, all of whom had borne him children since the manifesto of 1890 forbidding polygamy; a number of the Twelve Apostles, seven, we believe, likewise testified that they were living in polygamous relations with two or more wives, while other high officials of the Church testified to similar conditions in their lives. All of these men, in answer to the questions of the members of the investigating committee, acknowledged that they knew they were living in open defiance of the laws of the State and of the publicly promulgated manifesto of the Church, yet President Smith, a lawbreaker by his own sworn testimony, is looked upon by Mormons as the "mouth-piece of God, a prophet, seer, and revelator." Further, in April, 1905, at the time of the Church conference and after the above disclosures had been made, these men were confirmed in authority by the people. "Of the eight thousand people present, quite half fully understood that certain of those they were called upon to confirm, judged by human or divine laws or under the rules of their own

organization, were absolutely unworthy; but all the vast assembly, with only two exceptions, voted to confirm them in their positions."

Is polygamy a "derelict" among a people who deliberately sanction it in the leaders sworn to uphold Church laws, some of whom have taken new wives since Statehood? It is in Utah a notorious fact that younger men desirous of achieving ecclesiastical eminence have become polygamists since Statehood. "Many young women are plural wives to-day who were not fifteen years old at the time the pledge [to abstain from polygamy] was given."

Let us quote in closing from the protest adopted by the American party at its inception on March 14, 1904:

The law-abiding people of Utah have read with amazement, indignation, and disgust the declaration of President Joseph F. Smith, of the Mormon Church [at Washington], that they are broad-minded enough to consent to the shocking violations of law and public decency which he confesses to have committed.

We protest that we are not deserving of this sort of praise; on the contrary, we most emphatically repudiate and repel the statement, which in fact is an allegation that we, knowing of his defiant lawlessness, are accessories to his crime.

We declare, on the contrary, that he and the other polygamists have surrounded themselves with an impenetrable wall of secrecy in their perpetration of the misdeeds testified to, have systematically suppressed the record of births required by law, and it has been impossible, through court process or otherwise, to obtain any exact knowledge of what was being done, much less legal evidence of the offenses; that the public sentiment of the law-abiding people here has at all times been zealous for the punishment of polygamy and polygamous practices, as well as of other crimes.

It has therefore been impossible to know what was being done in this regard, notwithstanding strong suspicion of the facts entertained by many persons. The veil has been lifted in part, for the first time, in the testimony that has just been given by the Church leaders in Washington; and nowhere in the whole country did this testimony occasion so much astonishment and humiliation as in Utah. The investigation thus far has been so fruitful that we call for its rigid continuance, confident that further disclosures equally startling may be expected, as there are certainly deeper depths than have yet been sounded.

Thousands of the leading citizens of Utah indorsed this protest—men and women who know conditions by daily contact therewith, and at the polls vindicated their signatures. In the face of their solemn declarations, will the American people be lulled into fancied security that time will effect a natural cure of these evils?

M. KATHARINE BENNETT,
Corresponding Secretary Interdenominational Council of Women.

As a reader for many years of your magazine, I feel that I am privileged in its interest, and especially that of the country at large, to express my deep regret and surprise that

you should have given circulation and prominence to the Mormon article in the January issue. Surely the recent developments in the Smoot investigation have revealed beyond a doubt the spirit, method, and menace of a system born of fraud, nurtured in deception, and perfected in intrigue!

At the Smoot trial last winter the writer heard Senator Burrows put this question to the custodian of the Marriage Records in the Mormon Temple: "Do you mean to tell me that if the Senate of the United States were to demand those records of you that you would refuse to give them up, if ordered so to do by the President of the Mormon Church?" "I could not give them up without authority from the President of the Church," was the prompt reply. Nor *did he*.

Just here lies the evil of Mormonism, in this belief of its disciples that the authority of the Church is greater and more sacred than that of the State. Upon this claim we base our demand for a legislative, restrictionary power, a Constitutional Amendment which will compel a recognition of Governmental authority and jurisdiction, heretofore utterly and successfully ignored, and that, too, with the full knowledge and hearty indorsement of the "Big Twelve," who, Mr. Irving claims, are "the whole thing in Utah."

It is the public ignorance of the real facts in the Mormon problem—procurable to any who honestly desire to know and have the welfare of the country at heart—this pathetic endurance of appalling conditions, which a united public sentiment could speedily overthrow, that is responsible for the growth and vaunted prosperity of the foulest system which ever endangered a nation's safety and honor.

At the request of the President of the Interdenominational Council of Women, and representing also the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, as lecturer in their joint campaign for an Anti-Polygamy Amendment to our National Constitution, I voice the general, aye universal, protest of the Christian womanhood of the Nation. On their behalf I ask that, in fairness to them and the cause they represent, you generously give publicity to this appeal.

(Mrs.) MARIA C. WEED.

New York City.

I desire to express appreciation of the article, "Some Aspects of Mormonism," by Mr. Irving, appearing in your January 6 number. Many articles are written concerning Mormonism by writers having plainly but a superficial knowledge of the subject matter, and usually from a prejudiced view-point. Mr. Irving comes nearer reciting the situa-

tion as it is known to those intimate with Utah and her people than many who have essayed to treat the subject. A native of New York, for ten years last past resident in Salt Lake, and with a most pronounced opinion regarding the iniquities of polygamy, I am constrained to say that much injustice has been done the masses of the Mormon people in many of the articles condemnatory of them and their religion heretofore written. To my mind, the solution of the question, as Herbert Spencer might put it, in line with his "Synthetic Philosophy," is evolution—*i.e.*, education, not attack—and it is a singular fact that now where Mormons apostatize they seldom if ever embrace another faith. The one man, to the mind of many of us in Utah, who has done more enduring good for the Mormon people than any other, and who seems to have a more comprehensive knowledge of the practical way of handling conditions existent, is the Hon. George Foster Peabody, the New York financier philanthropist, who, in pursuing his altruistic ideas, has accomplished great good in Utah. His large beneficences to the Young Men's Christian Association in Salt Lake have caused a \$200,000 building to rise, with an Association now having 1,500 members, hundreds Mormon. His inauguration of the traveling library, with dozens of cases of books, which are sent to the most remote parts of Mormon Utah, together with donations to our hospitals throughout the State, and other acts of similar kind, have proven of more real value in furthering the principles sought to be inculcated by non-Mormons than all the antagonistic articles ever written. Charity, patience, and education will prove the panacea for Mormonism.

C. P. OVERFIELD.

Salt Lake City.

"THE MODERN CONCEPTION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS"

Dr. Gulick's article with the above title in The Outlook of November 4 has doubtless been read by many, as it has by myself, with deep interest. The article is timely; it is valuable. Does it perhaps invite, not criticism, but the addition of a further thought or two from one who, in the experience of a somewhat prolonged missionary life, has passed from what Dr. Gulick terms the "individualistic" into the "socialistic" conception of what foreign missions aim at and work towards?

1. May it not help us to look less at any *theory* of humanity, individualistic, socialistic, or other, and observe, the rather, what has been and what now is the practical form of work in the efforts of Christ's disciples to

fulfill our Lord's last command? If we do this, will not the query at once arise whether the conception Dr. Gulick commends can rightly be termed "modern"? The missionary work of the apostolic and of the post-apostolic age—and there was an abundance of it—aimed, and that with marked success, at saving men as they were found, in all races, all classes, and also at elevating, purifying, Christianizing the whole social order within and without the Roman Empire. So, later on, the process of the evangelization of the various peoples of Europe, from the time when the first Gregory sent the monk Augustine to England at the end of the sixth century till the conversion of the Bulgarians in the tenth, was that of using the net rather than the hook. The aim was first to convince rulers and leaders of the people of the superior claims of Christianity, and through them to make Christian, and *then* to instruct in detail the people of the tribes and races subject to the ruler's authority. This method was carried to its extreme length by Charlemagne.

2. Speaking generally, and it must be confessed somewhat inaccurately, modern missions are about a century old. There is no doubt that the great awakening, a century ago, among Christians of the West, to the duty of fulfilling our Lord's last command, resulted in missionary efforts which showed their results chiefly in individual conversions. "Soul-saving" was the watchword. It is equally true that a result, and a regrettable result, especially in the lower ranks of human life and society amid ancient Oriental civilizations, was often to isolate the converts from their people and render them dependent on their foreign benefactors. If those first missionaries, of saintly and illustrious memory, could now be challenged to answer for the method they adopted, would they not, in turn, challenge us to tell them what other course was then possible? What was the condition of India or China, not a century but half a century ago? China was then literally closed to foreign residents except in well-defined quarters of a few coast cities. India as well as China was closed and sealed and barred against foreign religious and social influence. Human life was thickly incrustated in customs ages old; Eastern civilizations run back into hoary antiquity. Orientals treated with contemptuous superiority religious and social innovations coming from the West. Even fifty years ago it required all the tact and perseverance of Christians fired with a passion for souls for whom Christ died, to get a hearing from one person here and from another there, among Oriental peoples. It is no wonder

that genuine converts were few and that little impression was made upon society. Yet the *aim* of those pioneer missionaries was to do just what the missionary of to-day can do and is doing. What we see is normal growth and development. We see the fulfillment of our Lord's parable of leaven. We may be grateful, but should not congratulate *ourselves*, over the fact that we are working nearer to the realization of the missionary ideal cherished by our predecessors. They saw only the rising of the morning star which has already ushered in our day.

We see that the stupendous enterprise we are working at means a spiritual uplifting and remolding of human life and society in all lands, a spiritual regeneration of men, individually and socially, intellectually, morally, politically. It is an enterprise compared with which Brooklyn bridges, Alpine tunnels, gigantic business trusts, are all child's play. But who can measure the responsibility which this knowledge imposes on us? The missionary work in its true idea, in its wide scope, in its stupendous plan and object, is that which makes life worthy of the sons of God, worthy of the brothers of the man of Nazareth, Gethsemane, and Calvary. Read through the Gospel records and observe that Jesus himself never had a shadow of doubt concerning the full accomplishment, in its time, of all for which he came to our world. Is he not seeing of the travail of his soul? Will he not, by and by, be fully satisfied? Recall the zeal of our predecessors in the translation and the widest possible circulation of the Bible, in the establishment of schools, in heralding the glad tidings. Let us rejoice that already many islands of the Pacific, and that at least one large people in the heart of Africa, have become Christian. And what are we going to do with the problem offered us in the Far East of a nation in some respects more Christian than some "Christian" nations, which is not yet Christian in name?

Measured by one human life, the progress of the kingdom of God in our world seems slow; measured by the eternal years into which that kingdom merges, we can both patiently wait its growth in time, and more courageously strive, during our day of labor,

to hasten our Lord's triumph, though it be but by one little hour.

GEORGE F. HERRICK.

Constantinople.

A CLEARING-HOUSE FOR BOYS' WORK

The very interesting articles by Ernest H. Abbott upon the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and his careful criticism of its methods, make it worth while to call attention to one illustration of Association work which merits notice because it shows a readiness to adapt itself to local needs and a willingness to come into closest relationship to the churches.

In Norfolk County, Massachusetts, some three years ago, a county work was instituted with the purpose of giving to small towns unable to support an Association, some of the benefits of the Young Men's Christian Association. A man was put into the field, and it soon developed that the greatest need was for some effective work with boys. A society for boys, known as the Phi Alpha Pi, was planned and organized in several towns. It was found that the pastors of the churches were greatly interested in this work, and therefore several of the local societies were organized as boys' clubs connected with churches.

The result is that to-day most of the boys' clubs in Norfolk County, watched over and cared for by the County Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, are connected with various churches. The Young Men's Christian Association's Secretary has really taken the position of expert supervisor of boys' work in the churches of Norfolk County. He plans with the pastors and attends the meetings of the different boys' clubs, and his office in Boston is rapidly becoming a sort of clearing-house for the boys' work that is being done in the churches.

This is a valuable and efficient form of co-operation, and is suggestive of other ways in which the church and outside organizations may get together for the common good.

HARRY W. KIMBALL.

Union Congregational Church,
[South Weymouth, Massachusetts.